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Aspects of the Syntax of the Dialect of Abha (south-west Saudi Arabia)

Submitted by:
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(In fulfilment for the requirement of the degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy)

University of Durham
CMEIS

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30 SEP 1998

1998

To my mother, whose love and spirit have remained with me and helped me to complete this work.

Acknowledgements

It is difficult to find the words to express my gratitude to my supervisors, Dr. Janet Watson and Dr. James Dickins, for their illuminating advice and continuous encouragement until this work became possible.

I gratefully acknowledge the attention and cooperation of the governor of 'Asi:r, HRH Prince Xa:lid al-FaiSal; his Deputy, Mr. MuHammad bin Zaid; Dr. 'Isma:'i:l al-Bishri: in the University of Imam Muhammad bin Saud in Abha; the Saudi Cultural Attaché in London; and King FaiSal University in Hofuf.

I am indepted to the following persons in Abha for their valued discussions and information: the former President of Abha Cultural Club, Mr. AHmad MuTa:'in; the former Deputy of Emirate of 'Asi:r, Mr. Ibra:hi:m 'A:mir; and Mr. Ha:shim an-Ni'mi:.

I also wish to express my appreciation to my family in Abha for their encouragement and help in collecting the data: my father, all my brothers particularly MuHammad whose efforts were great help, my sisters and my cousins. I am also grateful to my informants and all the participants in my field work.

Special thanks to my husband, Abdullah, for his support and understanding.

The material contained in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other university.

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Abstract

The present study deals with the syntax of the Arabic dialect of Abha in south-west of Saudi Arabia. It is a synchronic study which deals with the everyday usage of the dialect. Diachronic changes are sometimes indicated where relevant. The phonology and morphology of the dialect are discussed in brief where necessary. This dialect has many distinctive features some of which do not occur in other dialects. The dialect is going through remarkable change due to people's tendency to change affected by the spread of education, mass media and communication. Thus the study has been conducted to examine some syntactic features of the dialect and record them before the dialect loses those features, and to make this dialect accessible for further research in sociolinguistic or diachronic studies.

This study comes in two parts. The first part deals with the classification of the main parts of speech and their function in context. This part comprises four chapters: the first chapter deals with the noun and its sub-classes; the second chapter deals with the verb and its relation with the pronouns; the third chapter deals with particles and their functions in the sentence; the fourth chapter deals with functionals and their functions in the sentence. The second part examines the relationships between parts of speech. This part also comprises four chapters which deal respectively with: predication, annexation, complementation and attribution.



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Maps are modified from al-ʿamrawi: (1991: 178,188, 210) and Atlasu MinTaqati ʿAsi:r al-Ida:riyyah (1985: 8, 9,10,11)

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. The study

This study examines the basic syntactic structures of the spoken dialect of Abha according to traditional Arabic grammatical analysis. Some morphological and phonological notions have been indicated where relevant. The syntax of Abha Arabic has not been, to my knowledge, investigated to this time. A phonological and morphological study was conducted by Nakshabandi: in 1986. Younes (1991) has studied emphasis spread in Abha Arabic recently (Davis 1995: 466). The present study is mainly a synchronic study which deals with the everyday usage of the dialect.

1.2. The dialect

The studied dialect is a modern dialect. It is a modified form which has emerged from different sub-dialects. These sub-dialects were/are spoken in the villages around Abha. These sub-dialects have come to Abha with the immigration of people to Abha (cf. 1.4.2.). They merged then produced the form of dialect that is used nowadays. This dialect, or the original sub-dialects, has been through many processes of change due to the spread of education, media, communication, and continuous immigration from the surrounding countryside. Today, the dialect has many distinctive features which do not exist in many other dialects as we will see in the following chapters.

1.3. The purpose of this study

This study aims to record the dialect of Abha before it loses its distinctive features. There are many innovations in this dialect as a result of communication between people from different tribes. This study is concerned with these innovations as features of the dialect of Abha. The study does not aim to point out each variable to its original geographical place on the map. However, sociological references are indicated where relevant such as geographical origins, the age of speakers, or their level of education. We should note that there is, sometimes, overlap between age and geographical origins, since older people often maintain their original speech. Education is also related to previous sociological references since education can affect and modify the mother tongue of the speaker.

This study will be useful for future research in two ways: in sociolinguistic studies, which are important to display the direction of change in this dialect, and in tracing the features of ancient dialects, where studying ancient dialects relies on recent studies as Ani:s stated (1990: 10, 13).

1.4. The city of Abha

1.4.1. Geographical location

Abha is located in the southwest of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the †Asi:r region, map (1). It lies in the Sarawa:t heights which is over 2000 meters above sea level (*Asir the land of beauty and resources*: 2). Drawing the borders of Abha cannot be exact because of the expansion of the city of Abha. It began as a single village and today is a large city covering an area between latitudes 17 50' and 18 20' North and longitudes 43 00' and 43 25' East. According to governmental sources, Abha is the

area that is bordered to the east by the Xami:s Mushe:T area, to the north by the Emirates of Bal-laHmir, Bin-hashbal valley and MHa:yil, to the west by the Emirate of Rija:l 'alma:ʔ and to the south by the Emirate of il-FTe:Hah (al-Saud, al-'Anqari, and al-'Ajroush 1989, *al-MasHu al-Maydani: li l-Mawa:qiʔi w al-Xadama:t*, 1991: 10, *Atlasu MinTaqati ʔAsi:r al-ida:riyyah*, 1985: 10-11), see map (2). The population of Abha is estimated to be 132761 according to the 1983 National Census.

Many different villages were included among the city of Abha recently for administrative purposes by the government. These villages include different tribes with relatively different original dialects. Thus, wherever we go from the centre of Abha, the old city, we find that variations prevail. These variations are clearer on phonological and morphological levels than on the syntactic level. Although this study is not directly concerned with these variations, some syntactic differences are discussed where relevant. It might be of importance to note that these variations are gradually disappearing.

1.4.2. Historical and sociological background

Abha was the name of a valley located in that area which later became the name of the city. Abha was not mentioned in the ancient books except in the book of al-Hamada:ni: where he mentioned Abha with the valleys and the parts of ʔAsi:r area (al-Hamada:ni: 1983: 230-231). However, some references claim that Abha is the city from which the Queen of Sheba asked the people to help her to meet Solomon (ʔAsi:ri: 1983: 16, Sha:kir 1981: 72, *Ha:dihi bila:duna*: 1992: 291). On the other hand, Ha:shim an-Niʔmi: and other historians agree that there was no city with this name before 1242 (A.H.), but a village named *Mna:Dir* and then villages around a valley

named Abha of which the city took its name later. These villages became parts of the city of Abha later (an-Niʿmi: (nd): 6, Sha:kir 1981: 72-74, Hamzah 1968: 116). It is claimed that a weekly *su:g* “market” was the reason for the growth of Abha. People from nearby villages used to come every Tuesday to attend this market either to sell their goods or to buy what they needed. Over time, people began to settle down in Abha and make it a trade centre for the whole area.

The first *ʿami:r* “governor” who chose Abha as a capital for his government was Prince ʿAli: Ibn-Mjaṭil al-Mighe:di: in 1242 A.H. Since then, Abha started to develop and become a provincial capital (an-Niʿmi: (nd): 6-7).

The first people who settled in Abha were the Bani:-Mghe:d tribe. Bani-Mighe:d is one of four ʿAsi:ri: tribes which include ʿAlkam, Rabi:ʿah w Rfe:dah, Bani:-Ma:lik. These tribes settled around Abha with many other tribes like GaHTa:n, Bal-laHmir, Bal-lasmir, Shahra:n, Rijal ʿAlmaʿ and others, see map (3). People from all these tribes and others came and settled in Abha for jobs, education or just simply a better life. Each of these tribes had a relatively different original dialect. The original dialects of these tribes have affected, to varying degrees, the present dialect of Abha.

The name “ʿAsi:r” has more than one indication. ʿAsi:r originally is the name of the four tribes which are: Bani:-Mighe:d tribe, ʿAlkam, Rabi:ʿah w Rife:dah, and Bani:-Ma:lik. Moreover, this name is also the name of the chain of mountains which form part of the Sarawa:t mountains. For administrative purposes, this name came to signify the whole area or region which includes ʿAsi:ri: tribes and others. The ʿAsi:r region covers now an area between latitudes 17 50' and 20 50' North and longitudes 41 00' and 44 00' East as shown on map (2) (Asi:r the land of beauty and resources :12). For more information about the ʿAsi:ri: tribes, see Sha:kir (1981: 54-60), for

more information about the history and the development of the name of ʿAsi:r, see Abu-Da:hish (1989: 8-9), Jre:s (1993: 7-10), and for information about the history of the newly named ʿAsi:r region see, al-QaHTa:ni: (1992), and Jre:s (1994).

1.5. The effect of change on the dialect of Abha

As mentioned above, the dialect of Abha resulted from the merging of many sub-dialects which were/are spoken by the nearby tribes. When these dialects came to Abha with their people, communication between people made their dialects change and exchange many different features until we have the dialect of Abha. Generally, the listener cannot recognise the original tribe of the speaker especially if the speaker is a young educated person. Besides communication, there are two main factors that affect the development of the dialect of Abha as well. These two factors are: education and the mass media.

1.5.1. Education in Abha

Proper education started relatively late in Abha compared to other parts of Saudi Arabia. Education in Abha used to be based on gatherings at mosques or in other places. These gatherings were called *kata:ti:b*, *midra:sah*, or *miʿla:mah* where teaching of the Holy Koran, reading, writing, and maths was performed.

During the latest Ottoman period (1289-1337 A.H.), some attention was paid to education especially during the time of MuHi: Ad-Di:n Shawqi:, the Ottoman governor of ʿAsi:r, in 1332-1336 (A.H.). He opened a school with primary, intermediate and secondary levels. It was named *al-madrasah ar-rashdiyyah* “the ar-rashdiyyah school”. This school lasted till the end of the First World War in 1918

(A.D.). This school was not very effective in educating the people of Abha since Turkish was the language of teaching. This made many people refrain from sending their children to that school.

In 1344 (A.H.), King ʿAbdul-ʿAziz ordered the teachers Naṣir bin-Faraj and ʿAbdul-Rahman al-Muṭawaʿ to establish a school for teaching the Holy Koran, reading and writing. This school lasted for ten years till 1355 (A.H.) when the first official school was opened in Abha. This school was named *al-madrasah as-saʿudiyyah* “the Saudi school”. Teachers of this school came from Makkah and they worked for the Directorate of Education. This school was the nucleus of systemic education in Abha and lasted for twenty years. It was enough for the size of the population in Abha at that time. More taught subjects were included in the curriculum during that time.

Due to the development of Abha as a provincial capital of the region, which had an increase in immigration, there was an increasing need to open more schools like *al-FaySaliyyah* School in 1375 (A.H.), *al-Malik ʿAbdul-ʿAziz* School in 1378 (A.H.), *al-MuHammadiyyah* School in 1380 (A.H.) and *ar-RaHma:niyyah* School in 1382 (A.H.). Since then, many schools for various academic levels have been opened. Progress in education in Abha has had a significant effect on the spoken dialect of students in particular. Usually, the classical form of Arabic is the language of teaching by faculty, and this has modified the students’ spoken dialects. For more information about education and culture in Abha see Jreis (1995), Abu-Daḥish (1986).

1.5.2. The mass media

Radio and television services have also had a significant effect on the dialect of Abha. These two services are considered to be the most important entertainment in Saudi Arabia apart from their objectives in educating. We must admit that radio and television have a considerable effect on the change of people's ideology which consequently would affect their spoken dialect. In Saudi Arabia, radio and television are very concerned to use the classical Arabic form in their programmes except for films and serials which are in different dialects such as Najdi:, Hija:zi: or other Arabic dialects as Egyptian, Syrian, Kuwaiti and others. We should note that while investigating this dialect, it appears that people have not adopted significant features of any other dialects which are broadcast by the mass media. This might be caused by the awareness of people and their direction to the classical form which is considered to be the highest form of Arabic. I believe that there is a movement towards classical Arabic in the whole of Saudi Arabia which is clear in the mass media. Habeeb in his unpublished thesis studied closely the policy of using classical Arabic in the mass media which is planned to promote Islamic and Arabic heritage. He concludes that people prefer the use of classical Arabic to any single colloquial dialect in the mass media (Habeeb 985: 181-182).

1.6. Dialects and languages

Dialect is a term which is applied to a form of language. It is a variety of language used by a group which is smaller than the total community of speakers of the language (Francis 1983: 1). Sometimes it is difficult to identify a dialect and to distinguish it from the mother language, i.e. there is no clear-cut way to distinguish

dialects from languages. Sometimes the distinction between dialect and language is a political or an ethnic issue. If we consider the Scandinavian languages, we find that Norwegian, Swedish and Danish are considered to be different languages in spite of the strong similarities between them (Chambers & Trudgill 1980: 4), whereas, in the Arab world, Arabs consider their spoken forms to be dialects of Arabic even though there are many major differences between them. In each country of the Arab world, there are many dialects which are used among people in different regional locations and these dialects may have further sub-dialects. These dialects may be identified by the name of the country as if we say, Egyptian Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, Syrian Arabic, and Iraqi Arabic which it is not always quite correct since each country has more than one dialect spoken within it. On the other hand, some dialects are very similar even though they are spoken in different political countries. In the eastern region of Saudi Arabia, for example, people speak a dialect which is similar to the dialects spoken in Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar, and which differs from the dialects spoken in the South or the middle region of Saudi Arabia. In consequence, the boundaries between the dialects in Arab world, we can say, refer mostly to geographical location. In this study, I refer to any spoken form that is used by a group of people in a specific geographical area as a dialect or a spoken form.

1.6.1. Dialectology

Dialectology is the study of dialects (Chambers & Trudgill 1980: 3). It is a branch of linguistics that studies the features of dialects, and the varieties and similarities between dialects. Dialectologists' main interests are in the geographical distribution of dialectological features or the history of language variety and language

change (Francis 1983: 8). A new direction of dialectological studies focuses on urban dialects rather than rural dialects (Chambers & Trudgill 1980: 23).

The first dialectological study was begun in Germany in 1876 by Georg Wenker. His first attempt in this survey involved sending a list of sentences written in standard German to schoolmasters and asking them to return the lists transcribed into local dialect. He sent his list of sentences to nearly 50,000 schoolmasters and received completed questionnaires from about 45,000 of them. His survey covered the North and the Central regions of Germany. He published the first linguistic atlas. In Denmark, a less ambitious project began under the direction of Marius Kristensen. The publication of the result was completed in 1912. The linguistic survey of France in 1896 used fieldworkers to collect data. Jules Gillieron, the editor in this survey, began by devising a questionnaire that isolated specific items for which responses could be elicited and chose a fieldworker, Edmond Edmont, to record the response to the questionnaire at each interview. The publication of the results began in 1902 and was completed in 1910. The survey of France became the touchstone for subsequent surveys in Italy, the United States and Canada, Spain, Romania, England and several surveys in Europe. For detailed information, see Chambers & Trudgill (1980: 18-23).

Dialectology is not the only branch of linguistics that deals with dialects. Sociolinguistics studies dialects within a speech community. Sociolinguistics has been described by Trudgill (1974: 20) as "that part of linguistics which is concerned with language as a social and cultural phenomenon". It is the study of language in relation to society. Milroy says that sociolinguistics is the study of language in the community. It is a branch of linguistics that studies language variations within the community from speakers in everyday situations (Milroy 1980: 1). While dialectology and

sociolinguistics are not the same, they are not completely opposed to each other. Milroy (1980: 2-3, 1987: 8-9) distinguishes the dialectological and the sociolinguistic approaches. She claims that dialectologists are generally concerned with linguistic variations and mapping them out. Their interest is in recording traditional features of the dialect from old speakers. They do not claim to describe the speech of the community in a comprehensive or social manner. Sociolinguists, on the other hand, aim to investigate linguistic variations and their influence by the differences in extralinguistic variables such as age, sex, ethnic group, socio-economic class, and region. Sociolinguistic studies often include statistics to indicate the proportion of changes in a dialect. Dialectology and sociolinguistic studies often support each other. Many recent works in urban dialectology have looked more to the relationship that obtained between language and social features (Chambers & Trudgill 1980: 67). For further information about the general aim of the traditional dialectal study and its development toward sociolinguistics, see Milroy (1980, 1987).

In this study, I aim to study the syntax of the dialect of Abha in order to record this dialect with all its features. I do not aim to focus on the variations only and produce a statistical study. On the other hand, I do not take my data from old people only. This study is a record of the spoken form that people in general, old or young, women or men, educated or uneducated, use everyday at the time of this study. However, there are several indications for the variations that are influenced by sociolinguistic factors such as age, education or ethnic origin in this study.

1.6.1.1. Dialectology in Arabic

Studying Arabic dialects has not been as intensive as studying dialects of western languages, however, some early studies go back to the early stage of studying the language in the seventh century (A.H.). These studies discuss some dialects which were used in the Arabian peninsula at that time. They discuss some varieties between the western and eastern dialects, the Hija:zi: and Tami:mi: dialects. They also consider the differences in reading the Qur'a:n which they call *al-Qira: 'a:t*. For more details about ancient Arabic dialects, see Ingham (1982b), Rabin (1951), Ani:s (1990), al-Jindi: (1983). Over time, there were two linguistic varieties used by speakers in the Arabic speaking community: classical Arabic which is called *al-fuSHa:* "lit. the elegant", and the spoken dialects *al- 'a:mmiyyah* "lit. the language of the common people". In the following section, I shall discuss some points about the origin of the Arabic language in general and the relation between classical Arabic and spoken dialects.

1.6.2. The Historical Background of Arabic

1.6.2.1. The origin of classical Arabic and its relation to spoken dialects

Arabic is part of the Semitic language family (for more information about Semitic languages see, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (EI) (1960: 562-563)). It started in the Arabian peninsula. Arabic had been through a long history before it reached its final classical form which was known before Islam and used in literature, (for more information about some of this history, see Rabin (1951, 1955), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (EI) (1960: 561-564)).

Some linguists believe that classical Arabic was the spoken dialect of Quraysh, a tribe settled in Makkah. The people of Quraysh were known as those who spoke the best Arabic. It was said by Ibn Faris (d. 1005 A.H.) that “they had of all Arabs the best judgement in matters of accuracy in the choice of words, their speech flows most easily, they had the finest feeling for the language and the greatest facility in expressing their thoughts. From their mouths, classical language was recorded and their usage is the one to be followed...” (Rabin 1951: 22, 1955: 22). Another view says that classical Arabic was the only form which was used in speech all over the Arabian peninsula (Maktabi: 1991: 93). Others say that classical Arabic was the language of literature before the Islamic era and that it is a mixture of different dialects which were spoken in the Arabian peninsula and is the form which is used in the holy Qur’a:n (Salu:m 1986: 9-13, Ani:s 1990: 39-42, 1959: 8-10, ‘Abduh 1973: 79-96). Rabin (1951: 3) believes that classical Arabic is based on one or several of the dialects of Najd, in particular.

Some linguists believe that there were no spoken dialects before 150 (A.H) and they believe that classical Arabic was used as a spoken form over the whole of the Arabian Peninsula (Maktabi: 1991: 93). Another view says that dialects existed beside classical Arabic and were used by people in everyday situations (Salu:m 1986: 9-13, Ani:s, 1990: 39-42). Moreover, Ferguson believes that some of the modern dialects, in particular, were derived from classical Arabic or from a form close to it (Ferguson 1959: 616). For more information on the views about the beginning of classical Arabic and the ancient dialects see the works of Rabin (1951: 17-24, 1955: 19-37).

To conclude this discussion, we may assume that classical Arabic was a highly selected form based on different dialects which were used for literature by poets. It may be accepted that the Quraysh tribe were the best in using this form since they were

rated for their superiority among other tribes in the Arabian peninsula. Moreover, it is not reasonable to assume that classical Arabic was the only form used over the whole of the peninsula considering the width of its area, the number of its tribes and the lack of communication at that time. Thus, we may assume that different dialects were used by people of different tribes in different geographical locations in the Arabian peninsula.

If we consider the situation of Arabic at present, we find that there are two main forms of language: the standard form, classical Arabic, and the spoken dialects. Classical Arabic is used in the mass media, education and formal speech, whereas the spoken form is used among people in everyday situations. classical Arabic is preserved in the holy Qur'a:n, literature and grammar books, but the spoken dialects are only on the tongues of people and in some dialogues in novels and plays written in dialectal literature.

Being a communicative medium, spoken dialects have been through many processes of change. The situation of change of dialects inside the Arabian peninsula may not be the same as the situation of change of dialects outside the Arabian peninsula. The innovation of dialects outside the peninsula resulted from the spread of Arabic outside the Arabian peninsula by the expansion of Islam. When Arabic entered areas in Asia and Africa, the original languages/spoken forms such as Aramaic in Syria, Coptic in Egypt, Nubian and Beja in Sudan, Persian, Syriac and Aramaic in Iraq and others which were used in those areas affected the incoming Arabic language and created the dialects that are used in these areas today. Modern dialects outside the Arabian peninsula have experienced lexical and, in some cases, morphological and phonological replacement by other languages such as Turkish and Persian and have

also competed with colonising languages such as French, English and Italian. Close investigation of the Arabic lexicon outside the Arabian peninsula nowadays shows us the degree of influence of Turkish and the colonising languages, French in particular, on Arabic.

Arabic within the Arabian peninsula has not competed with any other language since Saudi Arabia, which encompasses about four-fifths of the Arabian peninsula, has never been colonised. Therefore, the innovation of dialects inside the peninsula may have been caused by communication between people of different tribes and different dialectal groups. As is well known, nomadic life made people travel from place to place looking for grass, food and better living. Moreover, the pilgrimage time used to gather many people from different origins every year in Makkah. During this trip, people exchanged goods, features of their culture, and even words and new usages from their dialects.

1.6.2.2. The problem of duality

Regardless of the factors that cause change in the dialects all over the Arabic speaking community, we find that classical Arabic remained without major change. The continuous change of the spoken dialects and the resistance of classical Arabic to change caused an increasing gap between them. This linguistic gap was clearly noticed by some scholars around the end of the nineteenth century (A.D). Thus an argument started and lasted for about five decades. This argument revolved around whether classical Arabic or some spoken dialects should serve as the literary language and what simplification of classical Arabic should be introduced for the sake of making the

language meet the needs of the new Arab society. The solutions which were offered usually consisted of one or more of the following:

- a) The replacement of classical Arabic by a regional colloquial variety.
- b) The replacement of the traditional writing system by a Latin type alphabet.
- c) The opening for free and extensive borrowing from western languages.

The proponents of the classical argued that classical Arabic was the bond among Arabs which would be broken if one or various colloquials were used as written media. They pointed to the richness of Arabic as the language of poetry, religion, philosophy and science. They saw that classical Arabic is able to meet modern needs through its flexibility. On the other hand, the proponents of the colloquials, often referred to as “the enemies of Arabic” by the classicists, argued that classical Arabic was a dead language with a complex grammar and an archaic vocabulary which were not familiar to modern speakers of Arabic. They argued that the classical language lacked the necessary scientific vocabulary which would enable it to compete in the modern world. Some even blamed the scientific and intellectual stagnation in the Arab world on the inadequacy of the language (Abdel-Jawad 1981: 7-8, Hussein 1979: 245).

Each group contained Arabs and Westerners, Muslims and non-Muslims. For more information about the views of the proponents of the colloquials, see Fure: Hah (1989), and for more information about the views of the proponents of classical Arabic, see Maktabi: (1991), al-Mu:sa: (1987), and for opinions between these two divisions, see Ani:s (1990).

The charge was often made that the call for a written colloquial language was a conspiracy against Islamic unity. Thus, this argument ended up with the realisation of

the importance of continuing to use the classical form as the written form and modifying the spoken dialects in order to inspire the classical form. This movement resulted in the creation of different varieties of Arabic at different levels between the classical form and the colloquials. The following section discusses the various varieties of contemporary Arabic.

1.6.3. Contemporary Arabic

In spite of the movement toward classical Arabic as discussed above, the gap between classical Arabic and the dialects still exists. This gap is defined by Ferguson (1964: 429) as diglossia. This phenomenon refers to the situation when two or more linguistic varieties are used by speakers under different conditions. In other words, speakers use the standard language in formal occasions and use regional dialects at home or among friends. Ferguson refers to the superimposed standard variety as the “High” variety or simply H, and refers to the regional variety as the “low” variety or simply L. Ferguson’s article was followed by many other articles discussing the adequacy of the definition of the theory of diglossia and its existence in the Arabic speaking community such as Kaye (1970), El-Hassan (1977), Hussein (1979) Bakalla (1981), Palva (1982), and others.

The concept of diglossia is not fully adequate when describing Arabic. There are many different varieties of Arabic being used between these two varieties. These varieties came about as a result of education or awareness of modifying dialects toward using classical Arabic at least in formal or semi-formal situations. We may see an overlap between these varieties as well. These levels have been studied by many scholars. However, more varieties of Arabic are still arising within the Arabic-speaking

community. Each variety has its own features which differentiate it from other varieties.

A number of studies have been motivated by Ferguson's article. These studies try to investigate and describe more varieties of Arabic than the two forms that Ferguson describes. Blanc (1960) investigates the modifications in Arabic dialects. He believes that Arabic speakers often do not stick exclusively to one genuine dialect, but tend to pass from one variety or style to another, sometimes within a single sentence. He analyses spoken Arabic in terms of five stylistic levels:

- 1) Plain colloquial which refers to any local dialect within which the speaker may select "informal" or "semi-formal" features.
- 2) Koinized colloquial which is any plain colloquial into which levelling devices have been more or less liberally introduced.
- 3) Semi-literary or elevated colloquials which are any plain or koinized colloquial that is classicized.
- 4) Modified classical which is classical Arabic with dialectal admixtures.
- 5) Standard classical which is classical Arabic styles essentially without dialectal admixtures.

Badawi (1973: 89) recognised nearly the same varieties of contemporary Egyptian Arabic which are named in Arabic as:

- 1) fuSHa: at-tura:t which means "ancient classical Arabic"
- 2) fuSHa: al-ʔaSr which means "modern classical Arabic".
- 3) ʔa:mmiyyat al-mutaqqafi:n which means "the colloquial of the educated".
- 4) ʔa:mmiyyat al-mutanawwari:n which means "the colloquial of the semi-

educated”.

5) ʔa:mmaɣyat al-ʔummiyyi:n which means “the colloquial of the uneducated”.

It is difficult to define the boundaries between these varieties because of the overlap between these levels of which both Blanc and Badawi: were aware. Meisels (1980: 122) criticises Blanc’s and Badawi:’s divisions as not being able to provide a tenable solution and leaving open the possibility that there are an unknown number of varieties. He categorises contemporary Arabic into four levels. He points out that this categorisation does not pretend to solve the problem of the coherent description of the complex linguistic reality of contemporary Arabic. Meisels’s levels are:

1) Literary (or standard) Arabic.

2) Sub-standard Arabic.

3) Educated spoken Arabic.

4) Basic or plain vernaculars.

There are more studies, such as Mitchell’s (1985, 1978) and El-Hassan’s (1977), which focus on a single group of educated speakers. It was claimed that educated speakers are the carriers of linguistic variation in the speech community.

All of these studies are only attempts to categorise the varieties of Arabic that are available in an Arabic-speaking community. This task is not easy. The difficulty of this kind of study is that language is always in a state of flux. In the case of Arabic, this is partly because of the movement towards the classical form. It is not always correct to describe and analyse a variety of Arabic, educated Arabic for example, and claim that this is the level of the educated people. People’s attitudes differ towards

classicisation and their abilities are not the same. I believe that at each level there are more sub-levels according to the ability of the speakers, their attitude to classicisation, and their intentions to modify their spoken forms.

1.6.4. Present studies of dialects in Saudi Arabia

This study is the first study which deals with the syntax of Abha Arabic. This dialect has been studied phonologically and morphologically by Nakshabandi (1989). Younes (1991) has studied emphasis in this dialect too. In the ʿAsi:r area, the dialect of Shahrā:n tribe in Xami:s Mushe:T near to Abha city (map 2) has been studied phonologically by al-Shahrani (1988). Nadawi (1968) has studied the Ghamid and Zahran dialects where located north of ʿAsi:r and south of Hija:z.

The Hija:zi: dialect in the Hija:z north of the ʿAsi:r region has received the attention of many researchers. Omar (1975) provided a textbook on the urban Hija:zi: dialect. Seiny (1978) studied the syntax of urban Hija:zi: Arabic. Bakalla (1979) studied the phonological and morphological components of Makkan Arabic. Al-Mozainy (1981) studied vowel alternations in the Beduin Hija:zi: dialect. Kheshaifaty (1989) investigated concord grammatical variation in Makkan dialect. al-Shehri, in his sociolinguistic study (1993), investigated the impact of urbanisation on the linguistic behaviour of urbanised rural immigrants in the Hija:z. In this study, he does not focus on Hija:zi: dialect only, but he considers the situation of linguistic change in most Saudi dialects.

The Najdi: dialect has been studied phonologically, morphologically and syntactically. Cantineau (1937) studied the phonology and the morphology of the dialect of the Shammar. Abboud (1964, 1975, 1978, 1979) also studied the Najdi:

dialect, Ha:yil in particular. Johnstone (1967a) examined the syllabification of the ʔUne:zah dialect in Najd. Il-Ha:zmi (1975) described the Harb dialect spoken by a tribe occupying the area from Hija:z to central Najd. Ingham (1980) analysed some features of the speech of central Najd.

Eastern and Northern dialects in Saudi Arabia have been studied by Johnstone (1967b, 1963, 1965), Holes (1984), and Ingham (1979, 1982a, 1982b, 1986a, 1986b, 1997). Prochazka (1988) studied the morphology of many dialects in Saudi Arabia. Holes (1991) studied the occurrence of *kashkasha*¹ in the peninsular Arabic dialects.

1.7. The method of data collection

Being a native speaker of the studied dialect did not preclude me from collecting data from other speakers in two stages. The first stage was twenty hours of random tape recordings. These tapes were recorded in family gatherings, friends' talks, neighbours' gatherings, school breaks, children's play, and phone calls. The tapes related to family issues, food, visits, education, cooking methods, children's problems, wedding ceremonies, ʔi:d festivals, and stories. The informants used at this stage were between nine and sixty-five years old. Most of them were born in the city of Abha and the rest had been living in Abha for between twenty to forty years. They were women, men, old, young and children. Old informants were generally not educated with the exception of a few who had fourth to sixth grade primary education. Young informants were almost all educated to highschool or college level. Children were in primary schools.

¹ *Kashkashah* describes the use of *sh* or *ch* as a second person feminine bound pronoun.

A second stage of collecting the data was required due to the fact that some questions arose during twenty months of investigating the dialect. At this stage, a questionnaire about the use of *lis* and *gid* was prepared and distributed to 23 people (see Appendix 1.). Tape recordings were also needed to identify the use of the bound subject pronouns (*aw*, *o:*, *u:*). I interviewed many people from different origins beside consulting old people who were very knowledgeable about the dialect and the people of Abha.

The questionnaire was prepared carefully to make it intelligible to the informants. The informants were selected from different original tribes who live in Abha. To distribute this questionnaire, eight people were selected to cooperate and work as fieldworkers to explain the objectives of the questionnaire to the informants. The fieldworkers were all educated and understood the linguistic enquiries in the questionnaire. The questionnaire was handed out in schools, the girls' college in Abha, people in the neighbourhood, friends, the 'Asi:r hospital and among relatives.

The tape recordings that were needed at this stage were to investigate variations in using bound subject pronouns with the perfect verb and the imperative verb. The informants read two lists of verbs in the past and the imperative. Before recording, the difference between the two lists had to be explained.

At this stage, some of the fieldworkers and I conducted some interviews with people who knew about Abha as a city and the dialect of Abha. The aim of these interviews was to collect historical and social information about Abha and its people besides some information about the dialect. I also contacted the Emirate of Abha and some scholars in al-Imam Mohammad Bin-Saud University to find some useful references.

1.8. Transcription

There are 28 consonant phonemes in Abha Arabic. The following table shows the consonants used in this dialect with their description.

Consonants	Description
<i>b</i>	voiced bilabial stop
<i>f</i>	voiceless labiodental fricative
<i>t</i>	voiceless alveolar stop
<i>T</i>	emphatic voiceless alveolar stop
<i>t̤</i>	voiceless interdental fricative
<i>d</i>	voiced alveolar stop
<i>d̤</i>	voiced interdental fricative
<i>D</i>	emphatic voiced interdental fricative
<i>s</i>	voiceless alveolar fricative
<i>S</i>	emphatic voiceless alveolar fricative
<i>z</i>	voiced alveolar fricative
<i>sh</i>	voiceless alveo-palatal fricative
<i>j</i>	voiced alveo-palatal affricate
<i>g</i>	voiced velar stop
<i>k</i>	voiceless velar stop
<i>q</i>	voiceless uvular stop
<i>gh</i>	voiced uvular fricative
<i>x</i>	voiceless uvular fricative
<i>l</i>	voiced alveolar lateral
<i>r</i>	voiced alveolar flap

<i>m</i>	voiced labial nasal
<i>n</i>	voiced alveolar nasal
<i>w</i>	voiced labio-velar approximant
<i>y</i>	voiced palatal approximant
<i>ʔ</i>	voiced pharyngeal fricative
<i>H</i>	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
<i>ʕ</i>	glottal stop
<i>h</i>	voiceless glottal fricative

Table (1.1.)

We should note that *q* is a marginal phoneme which is occasionally used in words borrowed from classical Arabic.

Vowels:

There are three vowel phonemes in Abha Arabic. These phonemes are shown in the following table:

Vowels	Description
<i>a</i>	open low vowel
<i>i</i>	closed high front vowel
<i>u</i>	closed high round back vowel

Table (1.2.)

There are two vowel allophones [e] from /i/ and [o] from /u/. Vowel length is represented by a colon (:) e.g. *a:*, *e:*, *i:*, *u:*, *o:*.

Examples of some of the sounds:

bint

“girl”

<i>be:t</i>	“house”
<i>Hayy</i>	“life”
<i>ʕe:n</i>	“eye”
<i>kuttrah</i>	“window”
<i>hinah</i>	“here”
<i>Su:rah</i>	“picture”
<i>ʔala:ʔah</i>	“three”
<i>tisHabha</i>	“[she is] pulling it”
<i>tishrab</i>	“[she is] drinking”
<i>yilʕab</i>	“[he is] playing”
<i>no:ʕ</i>	“type”
<i>il-ʕuxte:n</i>	“the two sisters”

Examples of data in the thesis are written in italics and the translation between inverted commas. The elements in the sentences which are discussed are highlighted in bold as in *minyom* in:

<i>ma: gid sha:ʃha: minyo:m jatt</i>	“he has not seen her since she came”
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[] is used with the translation of examples when there is no equivalent in Arabic as in:

<i>ha:da: il-jidi:d ʕaHsan</i>	“this new [one] is better”
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() is used with the translation when further detail is needed to explain the meaning of the example, as in:

baghatt tkallimni: f ma: ?Te:tha: “she wanted to talk to me, but I
wajh did not give her a face (i.e. I
 ignored her)”

- is used between the definite article and the following noun as in :

il-be:t “the house”

ir-rajja:l “the man”

1.9. The organisation of the study

This study is divided into two parts. The first part comprises four chapters. These chapters deal with the classification of the main parts of speech and their function in the sentence. The first chapter in this part deals with the noun and its subclasses. The second chapter deals with the verb and its patterns and relations with the pronouns. The third chapter deals with particles and their function in the sentence. Finally, the last chapter in this part deals with the functionals which have some characteristics of nouns and particles. The second part of the thesis comprises four chapters. These chapters discuss the relationship between parts of speech under four headings. The first relationship is predication, the second is annexation, the third is complementation, and the last is attribution.

Part one:

Parts of speech

The parts of speech in classical Arabic are those words which are uttered to produce speech (ʿAbdu l-Hamid (n.d.): I 14). For the definition of speech, see Hasan (1975: I 13-17). These parts of speech are syntactically divided into three main classes. These classes are: the noun *al-'ism*, the verb *al-fiʿl*, and the particle *al-Harf*. Az-Zamaxshari: defines the noun as that which has meaning in itself without depending on the presence of any other part of speech, the verb as that which indicates a process of event and time, and the particle as that which does not have a meaning on its own but gives a meaning in combination with other parts of speech and always requires a verb or a noun (az-Zamaxshari: 1859: 4, 130, 108).

Some parts of speech are not fully distinct. They have the characteristics of more than one class. Some of them have the characteristics of the classes of nouns and verbs such as verbal derivatives and verbal nouns, and others have the characteristics of the classes of nouns and particles such as pronouns and circumstants.

Verbal derivatives have the characteristics of nouns in that they can function as the predicand, predicate, subject, object, or annex, and they display gender, number, and possession categories. However, verbal derivatives can also function as the verb in that they take governees (cf. 2.2., 2.2.2.2.). Arab grammarians consider verbal derivatives to be nouns. In this thesis, I will follow this classification and consider the verbal derivatives as a subclass of the noun. The reason for this is that verbal derivatives lack the most important characteristic of verbs, namely indication of time. If we look at the definition of the verbal derivative (cf. 2.2.2.), we will find that they only indicate the process of the verb and its subject or object. They do not display

present, past or future tense. Moreover, verbal derivatives do not always take a subject or object. In other words, the noun following the verbal derivative is not always its governee. Sometimes a following noun is the annex and the verbal derivative is the annexed term. Consider the following examples:

ka:tib il-giSSah

“the story writer”

il-giSSah “the story” is the object of the active participle.

ka:tib il-madrasah

“the school writer (clerk)”

il-madrasah “the school” is not the object of the active participle but the annex of *ka:tib* which is the annexed term in this case.

Similarly with the verbal nouns, *al-maSa:dir*. Verbal nouns are derived from verbs, or the verbs are derived from them as some Arab grammarians conclude, see Ibn Yaʿi:sh: ((n.d.):VI 43), Hasan (1976: III 182-183). Verbal nouns have the root consonants of the verb. They can function as verbs in that they may take a subject for the intransitive verbal nouns, and an object in the case of transitive verbal nouns. However, they lack the main feature of verbs which is indicating the time of the event. Verbal nouns can function as the predicand, predicate, subject, object, annexed term, annex, attributed term or attribute. Thus, verbal nouns are similar to verbal derivatives and considered in this thesis to be a subclass of nouns due to their nominal features (cf. 2.2.).

Another set of parts of speech which has the characteristics of more than one class are the pronouns, demonstratives, relatives, circumstants, and question words. These parts of speech have the characteristics of both nouns and particles. Arab grammarians consider them to be *ʿasma:ʿ mabniyyah*: nouns whose final short vowels do not change according to their function in the sentence in contrast to *al-ʿasma:ʿ al-*

muʿrabah: nouns whose final short vowels do change according to their function in the sentence. Some grammarians including Ibn-Maʿlik says that these parts of speech are *mabniyyah* because they are similar to particles, i.e. they are not fully nouns (ʿAbdu l-Hamiḍ (n.d.): I 28-32). Other Arab grammarians consider them to be nouns because they function similarly to nouns. These parts of speech can function as the subject, object, predicand, predicate, attributed term or attribute. They have the characteristics of particles in that they constitute a closed system, they do not inflect, and they do not take the definite article (we should note that some of them, such as pronouns and demonstratives, are inherently definite like proper nouns (cf. 2.3.2)). If we consider this classification we realise that it is not quite legitimate to consider these parts of speech as nouns since they have some of the characteristics of the particles, and, in some cases, they cannot occur in isolation, unlike nouns. Some of them, such as the bound pronouns and relatives, require another part of speech to complete their meanings. On the other hand, we cannot consider them to be particles since some of them may occur in isolation and in certain circumstances they function similarly to nouns. They can function as the subject, object, predicand, predicate, annex, annexed term, and attributed term. We may conclude that there is a class between the noun class and the particle class which includes these parts of speech. This class comprises those parts of speech which have some of the characteristics of particles but can function in the sentence like nouns. I suggest that these parts of speech should be discussed in a separate class as *functionals*. Thus, in this thesis, I will classify the parts of speech in Abha Arabic into four classes: the noun (cf. Chapter 2), the verb (cf. Chapter 3), the particle (cf. Chapter 4) and the functional (cf. Chapter 5).

Open list system vs. closed list system

Parts of speech belong to either an open list system or a closed list system. An open list system includes those parts of speech that can be extended i.e. new words can be added to the class. A closed list system, on the other hand, includes those parts of speech that cannot be extended, i.e. new words cannot be added to the class (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973: 21, Watson 1993: 20-21). Nouns and verbs constitute open list systems whereas particles and functionals constitute closed list systems as will be discussed below. For more details about closed list classes of colloquial Egyptian Arabic, see (Abdel-Malik 1972).

Chapter Two

The noun

Traditionally, the noun is defined in English as a word that is used to name a person, a place, a thing, or an idea (Burton-Roberts 1986: 51, Warriner 1986: 4). Nouns belong to an open system (cf. p. 39). The Arab grammarians define nouns as words that denote abstract or concrete things without indicating time (Hasan 1975: I 26).

The Arab grammarians divide nouns into two groups: the first group comprises basic nouns which are not derived from any other part of speech. The second group comprises nouns which are derived from other parts of speech. Thus, nouns can be divided in this study into two subclasses: substantives, which are the nouns that are not derived from any other parts of speech (cf. 2.1.), and verbal nouns and verbal derivatives which are the nouns that are derived from other parts of speech (cf. 2.2.).

2.1. Substantives

There are two main types of substantives: proper nouns and common nouns. Common nouns are divided into two groups: concrete nouns and abstract nouns. Concrete nouns can be divided into two further groups: count nouns and mass nouns.

2.1.1. Proper Nouns

Proper nouns are usually names of people, countries, rivers, tribes, months, days, magazines, etc. They are normally definite (Quirk & Greenbaum 1973: 76). For example:

Ta:rig “Tariq” [a person’s name]

dirah “Thirah” [a mountain name]

2.1.2. Common nouns

Common nouns are further divided into two groups: concrete nouns and abstract nouns:

2.1.2.1. Concrete nouns

Concrete nouns refer to objects that are tangible. They refer to things that can be seen or touched. They are of two types: count nouns and non-count nouns (mass nouns).

Count nouns refer to things that can be counted, i.e. they have singular, dual and plural forms. Consider the following table:

Singular		Dual		Plural	
<i>kita:b</i>	“a book”	<i>kita:be:n</i>	“two books”	<i>kutub</i>	“books”
<i>ko:b</i>	“a cup”	<i>ko:be:n</i>	“two cups”	<i>’akwa:b</i>	“cups”
<i>waragah</i>	“a paper”	<i>waragate:n</i>	“two papers”	<i>’awra:g</i>	“papers”

Table (2.1.)

Non-count nouns, on the other hand, refer to things that cannot be counted. They are sometimes called *mass nouns*. They usually have only one form since they do not inflect for number. Consider the following examples:

sukkar “sugar”

sha:hi: “tea”

<i>ruzz</i>	“rice”
<i>laban</i>	“buttermilk”
<i>xubz</i>	“bread”
<i>ze:t</i>	“oil”

2.1.2.2. Abstract Nouns

Abstract nouns denote intangible objects. They refer to thoughts, feelings and meanings. Abstract nouns are similar to verbal nouns in that they indicate abstract ideas, but abstract nouns are not always derived from verbs, whereas verbal nouns are always derived from verbs. Moreover, verbal nouns often take a subject or object unlike abstract nouns (cf. 2.2.1.). Verbal nouns are usually abstract nouns but not all abstract nouns are verbal nouns. Consider the following examples of abstract nouns:

<i>sala:m</i>	“peace”
<i>Hubb</i>	“love”
<i><u>d</u>aka:</i>	“smartness”
<i>ghaba:</i>	“stubidity”
<i>‘axla:g</i>	“behaviour”
<i>mu:r</i>	“lightness”
<i>Dala:m</i>	“darkness”
<i>Harr</i>	“heat”
<i>Se:f</i>	“summer”

There are many neologisms in Abha Arabic. Some neologisms are derived from nouns or from other parts of speech by adding the suffix *-iyyah*. This kind of noun is called

al-maṣḍar aṣ-Ṣina: ʔi: “the artificial verbal noun” in classical Arabic (Hasan 1976: III 186-187). Consider the following examples:

<i>insa:niyyah</i>	“humanity”
<i>Hayawa:niyyah</i>	“animalness”
<i>waḤshiyyah</i>	“wildness”
<i>Hurriyyah</i>	“freedom”
<i>kayfiyyah</i>	“quality” [derived from <i>kayf</i> “how”]
<i>kammiyyah</i>	“quantity” [derived from <i>kam</i> “how many”]

Certain abstract nouns may be concrete in some contexts. Consider the following examples:

<i>kita:batha: ma: ka:nat waḌḤah</i>	“her writing was not clear”
<i>il-‘akl kaṭi:r marrah</i>	“the food is too much”
<i>libsaha: ka:n Hilu: ‘ams</i>	“her clothes were beautiful yesterday”

2.1.3. Morphological Categories

Morphologically, substantives display three categories: gender, number and possession.

2.1.3.1. Gender

Substantives in Abha Arabic belong to one of two grammatical genders: masculine or feminine. Masculine gender is usually unmarked, although some feminine substantives can be unmarked too. The feminine substantive is usually marked by the suffix *-ah*. We may realise two groups of substantives according to their gender. The

first group includes unmarked masculine substantives which have feminine counterparts either marked or unmarked. Consider the following tables:

Table (2.2.) shows unmarked masculine substantives and their unmarked feminine counterparts.

Masculine		Feminine	
Noun	Gloss	Noun	Gloss
<i>rajja:l</i>	“man”	<i>marah</i>	“woman”
<i>walad</i>	“boy”	<i>bint</i>	“girl”
<i>xaru:f</i>	“sheep”	<i>sha:h</i>	“ewe”
<i>tu:r</i>	“ox”	<i>bagarah</i>	“cow”

Table (2.2.)

Table (2.3.) shows unmarked masculine substantives and their marked feminine counterparts.

Masculine		Feminine	
Noun	Gloss	Noun	Gloss
<i>mdarris</i>	“teacher”	<i>madarrisah</i>	“teacher”
<i>daktu:r</i>	“doctor”	<i>daktu:rah</i>	“doctor”
<i>bass</i>	“cat”	<i>bassah</i>	“cat”
<i>kalb</i>	“dog”	<i>kalbah</i>	“bitch”

Table (2.3.)

Animal names can be masculine or feminine as seen in tables (2.2.) and (2.3.). A few plural substantives ending in *-ah* are masculine, for example, *'asa:tidah* “professors”, *shillah* “friends”.

The second group includes substantives some of which are masculine and some of which are feminine. Consider table (2.4.) which shows the unmarked masculine and unmarked feminine nouns which are not counterparts.

Masculine		Feminine	
Noun	Gloss	Noun	Gloss
<i>xashm</i>	“nose”	<i>'e:n</i>	“eye”
<i>fum</i>	“mouth”	<i>xad</i>	“cheek”
<i>gamar</i>	“moon”	<i>shams</i>	“sun”
<i>sha:hi:</i>	“tea”	<i>gahwah</i>	“coffee”
<i>'ilm</i>	“knowledge”	<i>ma'rifah</i>	“knowledge”

Table (2.4.)

2.1.3.2. Number

Substantives in Abha Arabic show three grades of number: singular, dual, and plural.

a. Singular substantives are usually unmarked. Consider the following examples:

<i>kit:ab</i>	“book”
<i>walad</i>	“boy”
<i>mandi:l</i>	“handkerchief”

b. Dual substantives are marked by the morpheme *-e:n* for both the feminine and masculine. Consider the following examples:

<i>kita:be:n</i>	“two books”
<i>walade:n</i>	“two boys”
<i>mandile:n</i>	“two handkerchiefs”
<i>hamme:n</i>	“two worries”
<i>xabare:n</i>	“two pieces of news”
<i>filme:n</i>	“two kinds of knowledge”
<i>binte:n</i>	“two girls”

When a feminine noun ending in *-ah* takes the dual, *-ah* is replaced by the allomorph *-at*. For example:

<i>marrate:n</i>	“twice”
<i>sayy:arate:n</i>	“two cars”
<i>Tayya:rate:n</i>	“two planes”
<i>daktu:rate:n</i>	“two doctors f.”

c. Plural substantives are indicated either by broken plural patterns or sound plural pattern.

c.1. Broken plural:

Broken plural patterns are more or less altered from the singular by the addition or elision of consonants, or by a change in vowels (Wright 1896: I 192). There are many patterns of the broken plural which are used in Abha Arabic. Some of them have been newly taken from standard Arabic. Some of these patterns are as follows:

ʿafʿa:l

<i>ʿaʿma:m</i>	“uncles” (i.e. father’s brothers)
<i>ʿaxwa:l</i>	“uncles” (i.e. mother’s brothers)
<i>ʿagfa:l</i>	“locks”
<i>awla:d</i>	“boys”
<i>ʿaxba:r</i>	“news”
<i>ʿawza:n</i>	“weights
<i>ʿawga:t</i>	“times”

fuʿul

<i>kutub</i>	“books”
<i>surur</i>	“beds”
<i>furush</i>	“pieces of furniture”
<i>SuHuf</i>	“newspapers”

fuʿal

<i>ghuraf</i>	“rooms”
<i>gura:</i>	“villages”
<i>furash</i>	“brushes”
<i>duwal</i>	“countries”

fʿa:l

<i>jba:l</i>	“mountains”
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<i>jma:l</i>	“camels”
<i>sba:ʔ</i>	“beasts of prey”
<i>Dbɑ:ʔ</i>	“hyenas”
<i>tya:b</i>	“clothes”
<i>rga:b</i>	“necks”
<i>ɖya:b</i>	“wolves”
<i>dha:n</i>	“cream”
<i>rya:H</i>	“winds”
<i>xya:r</i>	“cucumbers”

fʔu:l/ fuʔu:l

<i>glu:b</i>	“hearts”
<i>nmu:r</i>	“leopards”
<i>jmu:d</i>	“soldiers”
<i>humu:m</i>	“worries”
<i>ʔulu:m</i>	“pieces of knowledge”
<i>ʔusu:d</i>	“lions”
<i>ɖuku:r</i>	“males”
<i>buyu:t</i>	“houses”

fiʔla:n

<i>Sibya:n</i>	“boys”
<i>ghizla:n</i>	“deers”
<i>jirɖa:n</i>	“rats”

<i>ghirba:n</i>	“jealousies”
<i>Hisla:n</i>	“calves”
<i>xirfa:n</i>	“lambs”
<i>Hi:ta:n</i>	“whales”
<i>ʔiSya:n</i>	“canes”
<i>ji:ra:n</i>	“neighbours”
<i>bi:ba:n</i>	“doors”
<i>ni:ra:n</i>	“fires”
 <i>fuʔla:n</i>	
<i>kuʔba:n</i>	“hills”
<i>xushba:n</i>	“pieces of wood”
<i>judra:n</i>	“walls”
<i>xurSa:n</i>	“earrings”
<i>dukra:n</i>	“males”
 <i>fwa:ʔil</i>	
<i>Swa:ʔig</i>	“thunderstorms”
<i>xwa:tim</i>	“rings”
<i>mwa:niʔ</i>	“obstacles”
<i>fwa:yid</i>	“benefits”
<i>ʔwa:yil</i>	“families”
 <i>faʔa:li:l</i>	
<i>ʔaSa:fī:r</i>	“birds”

kaba:ri:t

“matches”

gara:Ti:s

“papers”

faʿa:lil

dara:zin

“dozens”

shara:shif

“bed covers”

dafa:tir

“notebooks”

kara:si

“chairs”

faʿa:yil

xala:yil

“toothsticks”

jama:yil

“favours”

xama:yir

“bad things”

ʿama:yir

“high buildings”

xara:yiT

“maps”

rasa:yil

“letters”

ʿafʿilah

ʿaghTiyah

“covers”

ʿajniHah

“wings”

ʿaʿmidah

“columns”

ʿalbisah

“clothes”

ʿaghlifah

“covers”

ʿashriTah

“tapes”

mafa: ʕil

<i>maxa:zin</i>	“stores”
<i>mala: ʕib</i>	“playgrounds”
<i>mala:hi:</i>	“entertainment places”
<i>maka:nis</i>	“brooms”
<i>maTa:bix</i>	“kitchens”
<i>maTa: ʕim</i>	“restaurants”
<i>maxa:biz</i>	“bakeries”
<i>maja:lis</i>	“sitting rooms”
<i>mala:bis</i>	“clothes”

mafa: ʕi:l

<i>mafa:ti:H</i>	“keys”
<i>maja:ni:n</i>	“crazy people”
<i>masa:ki:n</i>	“poor people”
<i>maga:di:r</i>	“wells”, “measures”
<i>mwa:zi:n</i>	“measures”
<i>maʕa:li:g</i>	“hangers”
<i>mwa: ʕi:n</i>	“kitchen wares”
<i>mxal:li:b</i>	“claws”

c.2. Sound plural

Sound plurals retain the pattern of the singular form unlike the broken plural (cf. c.1.), and take suffixes to the singular form. There are two types of sound plural: masculine plural and feminine plural. The masculine plural pattern is formed by adding the morpheme *-i:n* to the singular form (usually human nouns). The feminine plural pattern is formed by adding the morpheme *-a:t* to the singular animate and inanimate nouns. If the singular feminine noun ends in the morpheme *-ah*, *-a:t* will replace it in the plural form.

c.2.1. Masculine plural

<i>mdarrisi:n</i>	“teachers”
<i>mwaDDaḡi:n</i>	“employers”
<i>muhandisi:n</i>	“engineers”
<i>farra:shi:n</i>	“office cleaners”

c.2.2. Feminine plural

<i>mudarrisa:t</i>	“teachers”
<i>bakla:t</i>	“hair clips”
<i>warda:t</i>	“flowers”
<i>ghamza:t</i>	“dimples”
<i>marra:t</i>	“times”

Number category is not always displayed with all types of nouns. Mass nouns, for example, do not usually have singular or dual forms. However, the suffix *-ah* can be added to the mass noun to indicate a singular or unit form.

<i>tuffa:Hah</i>	“an apple”
<i>xu:xah</i>	“a peach”
<i>mu:zah</i>	“a banana”
<i>ruzzah</i>	“a grain of rice”

Quantifiers can precede mass nouns in an annexation structure to indicate units.

Consider the following examples:

<i>shwayyat sukkar</i>	“some sugar”
<i>Habbat ruzz</i>	“one piece of rice”
<i>nitfat xubzah</i>	“a little bit of bread”
<i>giTʔat laHm</i>	“a piece of meat”
<i>gabDat ruzz</i>	“a handful of rice”

Proper nouns, while usually restricted to the singular, can take the dual suffix *-e:n* in order to refer to two persons who carry the same name, as in:

ʕindana: maHammade:n “we have two Mohammeds”

Abstract nouns do not have either dual or plural forms, as in:

<i>Hubb</i>	“love”
<i>sla:m</i>	“peace”
<i>ghi:rah</i>	“jealousy”
<i>jahl</i>	“ignorance”
<i>Hisd</i>	“envy”

2.1.3.2. Possession

Possession is usually indicated by bound pronouns. Consider the following examples:

<i>fra:shi:</i>	“my bed”
<i>kita:bah</i>	“his book”
<i>bana:tkum</i>	“your daughters”
<i>'axla:gish</i>	“your behaviour”
<i>madrasatk</i>	“your school”

2.1.4. Syntactic function

Substantives are marked by the fact that they can function as the predicand, predicate, subject, object, annexed term, annex, attributed term or attribute. Consider the following examples of substantives in context:

As a predicand

<i>id-dinya: sha:natt</i>	“things in the world have become bad”
<i>il-mada:ris bada'att</i>	“schools have started”
<i>il-jahl huwwah il-muSi:bah</i>	“ignorance is the disastrous”

As a predicate

<i>ir-rajja:l rajja:l</i>	“man is a man”
<i>ha:di: l-mishkilah</i>	“this is the problem”
<i>'ana: 'ammah</i>	“I am his uncle”

As a subject of a verb

<i>ja: ʔali:</i>	“Ali came”
<i>gid tazawwaj ʔabu:h marrate:n</i>	“his father got married twice”
<i>xallaS il-ʔakil</i>	“the food is finished”

As an object of a transitive verb

<i>ʔazamna: ʔahlah bass</i>	“we invited his family only”
<i>ra:H shughlah matʔæxir</i>	“he went to his work late”
<i>ga:balt ʔaxu:k ʔams</i>	“I met your brother yesterday”

As an annexed term in an annexation phrase

<i>bint xa:li:</i>	“my uncle’s daughter”
<i>sayya:rat il-madrasah</i>	“the school car”
<i>galam Hibr</i>	“an ink pen”

As an annex in an annexation phrase

<i>walad il-ji:ra:n</i>	“the neighbour’s son”
<i>maHall ʔuTu:r</i>	“a perfume shop”
<i>madrasat bana:t</i>	“a girls’ school”

As an annex in prepositional and circumstantial phrases

<i>fi l-be:t</i>	“at home”
<i>ʔala: r-raff</i>	“on the shelf”
<i>taHt il-ma:</i>	“under the water”
<i>fo:g ish-shajarah</i>	“over (on) the tree”

As an attributed term in an attributive phrase

<i>ha:da: ʔaxu:yah il-kibi:r</i>	“this is my big brother”
<i>ʔabu:k rajja:lin Tayyib</i>	“your father is a good man”

As an attribute in an attributive phrase

<i>ʔint tiʔrif de:h il-walad?</i>	“do you know this boy?”
<i>lisni: ʔaʔrif do:la: l-bana:t</i>	“I do not know these girls”

2.2. Verbal nouns and verbal derivatives

Verbal nouns and verbal derivatives are nouns derived from verbs. They includes *al-maSa:dir aS-Sari:Hah* “verbal nouns”, and *al-ʔasma:ʔ al-mushtaqqah* “verbal derivatives”. For more information about derivation processes and *al-maSa:dir* in classical Arabic, see Howell (1900: I 1512-1795), Ibnu-Yaʔi:sh ((n.d.): VI 43-112), Hasan (1976: III 182-339). The second group is distinguished by the fact that they function as verbs since they can take a subject or object. Arab grammarians consider

verbal nouns and verbal derivatives to be the *ʔa:mi:l* “governor” and the subject and the object as the *maʔmu:l* “governee”. They consider verbal nouns and verbal derivatives to be governors because they affect the final case of their governees just as verbs do in the case of *Ha:lat al-ʔiʔra:b* (cf. 3.3.1., ʔAma:yah (n.d.): 57-58). Although this study does not deal with *Ha:lat al-ʔiʔra:b*, it is necessary to take these definitions into consideration in order to analyse the types of governees and to study their syntactic functions and relationships with verbal derivatives and verbal nouns.

2.2.1. Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns are types of *maSa:dir*. They are derived from verbs, or as some Arab grammarians claim, they are the origins of the verbs as indicated by the term *maSdar* “source” (Ibnu-Yaʔi:sh (n.d.): VI 43, Hasan 1976: III 182-183). They denote abstract meanings. They are similar to verbs in that they can take governees in some contexts. These governees can be considered syntactically to be annexes but semantically, they function as the subjects or the objects of verbal nouns. Consider the following examples from Abha dialect:

A verbal noun with a subject in an annexation structure

ha:da: suwwa: e:dayyah “this is my hands’ making”

shuftik b shu:f ʔe:ni: “I saw you by my eyes watching”

sawa:t ʔalla:h “God’s doing [well]”

¹ Wright (1898:II 275) uses the term *regent* to refer to *al-ʔa:mi:l*. Palmer (1874: 46-47, 178-180) on the other hand, uses the term *agent* in two different ways: firstly to refer to the active participle, and secondly to refer to the subject of the verb.

A verbal noun with an object in an annexation structure

<i>mra:jaʔat il-Hisa:ba:t</i> <i>ish-shahr il-ja:y</i>	“reviewing the income is next month”
<i>mga:balat id-daktu:r bukrah</i>	“meeting the doctor is tomorrow”

A verbal noun with a prepositional complement:

<i>ʔakala:nish l ur-ruzz huwwah</i> <i>illi nafaxish</i>	“your s.f. eating rice is what makes you fat”
<i>ma: zaʔalah illa: DaHaka:nik</i> <i>ʔale:h</i>	“nothing made him upset but your making fun of him”

However, verbal nouns are similar to nouns in that they can function as the predicand, predicate, subject, object, annexed term, annex, attributed term or attribute. Verbal nouns do not take bound subject pronouns but bound object pronouns. Consider the following examples:

<i>Tabxaha: ze:n</i>	“her cooking is good”
<i>ha:da: Tabʔah</i>	“this is his behaviour”
<i>tatawwar liʔbik</i>	“your playing has improved”
<i>gid shift ʔistigba:lik laha:</i>	“I saw your welcoming her”
<i>muga:balt id-duktur bukrah</i>	“meeting the doctor is tomorrow”
<i>ka:no: yitkallamo:n ʔann ziya:rat</i> <i>il-ʔami:r</i>	“they were talking about the prince visit”

jaya:tha: ha:di: ma: lha: da:ʔi: “lit. her comings [visits] these are not necessary)

ha:da: t-taʕgi:d ma: nibgha:h “lit. this complexity we do not want”

Verbal nouns do not usually display gender or number. In some cases, verbal nouns can be pluralised. Consider the following examples:

ha:di: Tba:yʕah “these are his ways of behaving”

swa:ya:ha: ish-she:nah “her bad acts”

wagfa:thum ʕaxxaratna: “their stops made us late”

2.2.2. Verbal derivatives

2.2.2.1. Morphological categories

Verbal derivatives denote both the verb and its subject or object. Verbal derivatives include the active participle *ʕism al-fa:ʕil*, the passive participle *ʕism al-mafʕu:l*, and the adjectival *aS-Sifah al-mushabbahah*.

2.2.2.1.a. The active participle

An active participle is a noun which has the meaning of the verb and its subject.

There are many forms for the active participle. Consider the following patterns:

fa:ʕil

Active participles with the pattern *fa:ʕil* are derived from basic form 1 trilateral verbs.

Consider the following table:

The perfect verb stem <i>faʕal</i>		The active participle <i>fa:ʕil</i>	
<i>katab</i>	“[he] wrote”	<i>ka:tib</i>	“writer
<i>ʕamal</i>	“[he] worked”	<i>ʕa:mil</i>	“worker”,
<i>wagaf</i>	“[he] stood”	<i>wa:gif</i>	“standing up”
<i>Sakat</i>	“[he] was silent“	<i>Sa:kit</i>	“speechless”
<i>xadam</i>	“[he] served”	<i>xa:dim</i>	“servant”
<i>na:m</i>	“[he] slept”	<i>na:yim</i>	“sleeping”
<i>gatal</i>	“[he] killed ”	<i>ga:til</i>	“killer”

Table (2.5.)

Active participles are derived from derived verb forms and from verb stems with more than three root consonants by replacing the prefix in the imperfect form with *m/mu*.

Consider the following table:

The imperfect stem		The active participle	
<i>yidi:r</i>	“[he is] managing”	<i>mudi:r</i>	“manager”
<i>yidi:ʕ</i>	“[he is] broadcasting”	<i>mudi:ʕ</i>	“teller”
<i>'antij</i>	“[I am] producing”	<i>muntij</i>	“producer”
<i>thandis</i>	“[she is] engineering”	<i>muhandisah</i>	“architect”
<i>yidarris</i>	“[he is] teaching”	<i>mdarris/mudarris</i>	“teacher”
<i>yinaDDif</i>	“[he is] cleaning”	<i>mnaDDif</i>	“cleaner”

Table (2.6.)

There are more patterns that can be used to indicate the active participle. These patterns are called *Siyagh al-muba:laghah* by the Arab grammarians which means literally “overwhelming forms”. The following forms are used in Abha Arabic, and they are not all the same as in classical Arabic.

faʔʔ a:l

<i>farra:sh</i>	“office cleaner”
<i>Hamma:l</i>	“carrier”
<i>sabba:g</i>	“winner”
<i>Sayya:d</i>	“hunter”

fuʔu:l

<i>Sudu:g</i>	“credulous (i.e. he is easily convinced)”
<i>ku<u>ḍ</u>u:b</i>	“liar (i.e. he lies a lot)”
<i>lu<u>ḥ</u>u:b</i>	“very hot (i.e. very active and angry person)”

faʔʔ i:l

<i>sharri:b</i>	“drinker” (he drinks too much)
<i>Harri:f</i>	“professional”
<i>ʔarri:f</i>	“knower” (he knows a lot)
<i>karri:f</i>	“hard worker”
<i>kassi:b</i>	“good earner”

faʕil

I only know one noun in this pattern which is *ʕajil* “[he is] in a hurry”. This form is not used widely. If used, old people would use it.

2.2.2.1.b. The passive participle

The passive participle is a noun which indicates the meaning of the verb and its object. When the passive participle is derived from the basic form 1 trilateral verb, it takes the pattern *mafʕu:l*. Consider the following table:

The perfect stem <i>faʕal</i>	The passive participle <i>mafʕu:l</i>
<i>katab</i> “[he] wrote”	<i>maktu:b</i> “written”
<i>sarag</i> “[he] stole”	<i>masru:g</i> “stolen”
<i>kanas</i> “[he] swept”	<i>maknu:s</i> “swept”
<i>Tabax</i> “[he] cooked”	<i>maTbu:x</i> “cooked”
<i>ʕaraf</i> “[he] knew”	<i>maʕru:f</i> “known”

Table (2.7.)

Passive participles can be formed from the imperfect verb of derived verb forms by replacing the prefix with *m* and adding *a* before the final root consonant. Consider the following table:

The imperfect stem	The passive participle
<i>yiHaTTim</i> “[he is] breaking	<i>mHaTTam</i> “broken”
<i>tkassir</i> “[she is] breaking”	<i>mkassar</i> “broken”
<i>ʕaʕallig</i> “[I am] hanging”	<i>mʕallag</i> “hanged”
<i>ynaDDif</i> “[he is] cleaning”	<i>mnaDDaf</i> “cleaned”

<i>yxarrib</i>	“[he is] ruining”	<i>mxarrab</i>	“ruined”
<i>ydarrib</i>	“[he is] training”	<i>mdarrab</i>	“trained”

Table (2.8.)

There is another passive participle form derived from the imperfect verb by replacing the prefix with *mu* and adding *a* before the final root consonant as in classical Arabic. These forms are borrowed from standard Arabic and are used mostly by educated people. Consider the following examples:

<i>muʔa:d</i>	“repeated”
<i>muʔaddab</i>	“behaved”
<i>munaDDam</i>	“well organised”

2.2.2.1.c. The adjectival

An adjectival is a noun that provides a description. Adjectivals may denote permanent or sometimes temporal descriptions¹. There are no particular patterns for the adjectival in Abha Arabic. Consider the following examples:

<i>Tuwi:l il-ga:mah</i>	“[he is] tall”
<i>Tayyib il-galb</i>	“[he is] good in heart”
<i>gali:l il-ʔadab</i>	“[he is] misbehaved”

¹ The Arabic grammarians say that the adjectival *aS-Sifah al-mushabbahah* should usually denote a permanent description (Hasan 1976: 282).

2.2.2.2. Syntactic function

Verbal derivatives are distinguished from substantives in that they can take, in some cases, a governee (cf. 2.2). This governee can be considered semantically to be the subject or object of the verbal derivatives. Syntactically, this governee can function as the annex in an objective genitive relationship or a subjective genitive relationship. For more details about subjective and objective genitive relationships, see Watson (1993: 180-88). In Abha, verbal derivatives can take *at-tarwi:n* even if they are functioning as the annexed term (cf. 2.3.1.). People tend to use *at-tarwi:n* to show more emphasis.

2.2.2.2.a. The active participle

The active participle can take an annex in an objective genitive relationship. Consider the following examples:

ka:tib ir-risa:lah , “the writer of the letter”

ga:Tiʕin ruHmah “the relationship breaker”

The active participle in this case can take *at-tarwi:n* as seen above and table (2.9.).

The active participle can take an annex in a non-objective genitive relationship. In this case, the governee is not the object of the active participle, i.e. it is not the object of the underlying verb in the active participle. In this case, active participle does not take *at-tarwi:n*. Consider the following examples:

ka:tib il-maHkamah “the court clerk”

bawwa:b il-madrasah “the school security man”

2.2.2.2.b. The passive participle

The passive participle can take a following governee¹. This governee can be considered to be an annex in an objective genitive relationship. Consider the following examples:

maHdu:di:n Hi:lah

“[he is] tired in body”

masru:gati:n sayya:ratah

“his car is stolen”

mal'u:bi:n fi: Hisbatah“[he has been] affected badly [by
someone]”*maksu:r il-xa:Tir*

“[he is] heart broken”

maslu:b il-'ira:dah

“[he has] his will stolen”

The passive participle can take *at-tanwi:n* when the governee is not definite but has anaphoric pronoun as seen in the above examples and in table (2.9.).

2.2.2.2.c. The adjectival

Adjectivals can take also a following governee similar to active and passive participles. There are different points of view among Arab grammarians about the function of the adjectival's governee. Generally, Arab grammarians conclude that the adjectival can take a subject, object, *tamyi:z* or annex, for more details see Ibnu-

¹ The passive participle takes a *na:ib fa:il* in classical Arabic which means literally “an item replaces the subject of the verb”. This item is the object of the underlying verb (Hasan 1976: III 271-275, ¶I:d 1991: 667).

Yaʿi:sh ((n.d.): VI 83-91), Hasan (1976: III 294-295). In Abha Arabic the adjectival may take an annex in a subjective genitive relationship. Consider the following examples:

<i>Diʿi:fah shaxSiyyatha</i>	“her personality is weak”
<i>she:natin nawaya:sh</i>	“your aims are bad”
<i>ha:da: ʿazi:z nafs</i>	“this [man] is proud hearted”
<i>ʿinti: gili:lat ʿadab</i>	“you f.s. are misbehaved”

This will be discussed in detail in the following section (cf. 2.2.2.3.).

2.2.2.3. The relationship between verbal derivatives and their governees

Arab grammarians list many roles for the relation between verbal derivatives and their governees according to the definiteness of both the verbal derivatives and the governee, the time indicated by the verbal derivatives, and the transitivity of the original verb. It is not possible to apply these roles to the verbal derivatives of Abha Arabic because of the absence of *Ha:lat al-ʿiʿra:b* which shows the final case of the governee and indicates its function. In Abha Arabic, there is *at-tamwi:n* case which usually indicates where annexation does not occur. However, with verbal derivatives, *at-tamwi:n* occurs even if the verbal derivatives function as annexed terms. The relation between verbal derivatives and their governees and the function of these governees in Abha Arabic can be considered in three types of contexts. These types depend on the definiteness of the governee and the presence of the anaphoric pronoun. In the following section, we will study these types regarding the adjectival in detail and summarise active and passive participles in a table.

The first type is when the governee of the adjectival takes the article and no anaphoric pronoun. Consider the following examples:

<i>a:llah de:h Tuwi:l il-lisa:n</i> <i>illi ʔallam luhum</i>	“it is this, [the man with] long tongue who told them”
<i>ja:ni: ʔali: she:n in-nawa:ya:</i>	“Ali came to me, [the man with] bad intentions”
<i>jaw Twa:l ish-shawa:rib</i>	“they came [the men with] long moustaches (i.e. brave men)”
<i>ʔaʔrifha: gili:lat il-Haya:</i>	“I know her, the misbehaved [girl]”

In the above examples, the adjectivals modify their following governees. The governee in this type is semantically the subject, but syntactically it functions as the annex in a subjective genitive relationship.

The second type is when the governee does not take the article or have an anaphoric pronoun. Consider the following examples:

<i>ʔa:lah she:n niyah</i>	“he has a bad intention”
<i>innah ʔazi:z nafs</i>	“he is a proud hearted”

Here, the adjectival modifies the governee. The governee can be considered to be an annex in a subjective genitive relationship.

The third type is when the governee does not take the article, but takes an anaphoric pronoun. Consider the following examples:

<i>gili:lin Haya:ha:</i>	“her shyness (behave) is less”
--------------------------	--------------------------------

kiti:rin kala:mah

“his talks is so much”

In this type, the governee function as an annex in a subjective genitive relationship. The adjectival may keep the *tanwi:n* although it occurs as an annexed term. These usages are not common. People tend to replace them by a noun-adjectival clause instead, as in:

Haya:ha: gili:l

“her shyness is less”

lisa:nah Tiwi:l

“his tongue is long”

galbah Tayyib

“his heart is kind”

Similarly, active and passive participles can show some of these three types. The following table shows these three cases in brief.

The case	Active participle	Passive participle
1) When the governee of verbal derivative is inherently definite or takes the article but no anaphoric pronoun	The governee can be considered as: a) annex in an objective genitive relationship, as in: <i>ra:fʕin it-taklufah</i> “[he is] lifting protocols”	The governee can be considered as: a) annex in an objective genitive relationship, as in: <i>maksu:r il-xa:Tir</i> “[he is] heart broken” <i>maslu:b il-ʕira:dah</i> “[he is] a will stolen”
2) When the governee does not take the definite article or an anaphoric pronoun	The governee can function as: a) annex in an objective genitive relationship, as in: <i>Ha:TTin waragah ʕala: l-ba:b</i> “[he is] leaving a message on the door”	Does not occur

3) When the governee does not take the definite article but takes an anaphoric pronoun.	The governee can function as: a) annex in an objective genitive relationship, as in: <i>ra:fi ʔin xashmah</i> “he is raising his nose”	The governee can function as: a) annex in an objective genitive relationship, as in: <i>mahdu:di Hi:lah</i> “[he is] a power weakened”
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Table (2.9.)

Verbal derivatives (active participles, passive participles and adjectivals) can function in the sentence as basic nouns when they take the definite article. They can function as the predicand, predicate, subject, object, or annex. In all these cases, they do not usually take governees. Consider the following examples:

The verbal derivative as a subject:

<i>jatt il-kibi:rah</i>	“the older one f. came”
<i>ta’axxar il-mudi:r</i>	“the manager is late”

The verbal derivative as an object:

<i>masko: il-ga:til</i>	“they seized the killer”
<i>xudi: l-maksu:r</i>	“take the broken [one]”
<i>ga:balt il-ga:Di: da l-yo:m</i>	“I met the judge today”

The verbal derivative as a predicand:

<i>il-ghashsha:sh ghashshni:</i>	“the cheat deceived me”
<i>il-wagfi:n yijlisu:n</i>	“the standing up [people should] sit”

The verbal derivative as a predicate:

'abu:ha il-mudi:r

“her father is the manager”

ha:da: l-muSa:b

“this is the injured [one]”

The verbal derivative as the annex of a preposition:

ra:H li l-mudi:r

“he went to the manager”

il-kala:m li l-kibi:r w li S-Sighi:r

“talk is for the young [as well as] the
old [people]”

The main syntactic function of verbal derivatives is as attributes. Verbal derivatives can modify a preceding or a following noun. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter Nine.

2.3. More distinctive features of nouns

At the end of this chapter, I shall discuss two main features of nouns: *at-tanwi:n* and definiteness. These two features distinguish nouns from other parts of speech.

2.3.1. *at-tanwi:n*¹

¹ *tanwi:n* in classical Arabic is written as double *Haraka:t* “short vowels” over the final letter of the noun and pronounced as (*un*), (*an*), (*in*) according to the position of the noun in *Ha:lat al-’i’ra:b*.

at-tanwi:n is a final *-in* which is suffixed to the noun. It is a nominal category which cannot be attached to any other part of speech. It does not attach to a noun with the definite article. There are four or five types of *at-tanwi:n* in classical Arabic, however, only one type is used in Abha Arabic. This type of *at-tanwi:n* indicates the nominal category. For more details about the other types, see Ibnu-Yaʿi:sh ((n.d.): IX 29-34), Howell (1880: II-III 699-702). In Abha Arabic, *at-tanwi:n* is usually realised as (*in/inn*). If a noun ends in *a:* as *fugara:* “poor”, *at-tanwi:n* can be realised as (*an/ann*) as will be discussed in the following sections.

Ibra:hi:m MuSTafa: claims *at-tanwi:n* is a sign for indefiniteness. The Arabs agree that the definite noun takes the article as a prefix, whereas the indefinite noun takes *at-tanwi:n* as a suffix (MuSTafa: 1959: 165). For more details see as-Sa:mira:’i: (1961: 115). Ibnu-Yaʿi:sh claims that in classical Arabic even proper nouns can take *at-tanwi:n* if the speaker wants to refer to an indefinite person as in:

laqi:tu ‘Ahmadan

“I met an Ahmad”

which means that he met someone who carries the name Ahmad and the hearer is not expected to know him (Ibnu-Yaʿi:sh (n.d.): IX 29). In addition, in classical Arabic certain proper nouns can take *at-tanwi:n* even though they refer to a definite person as *MuHammadan* and *Xa:lidan*. For more information about *at-tanwi:n*, see Jaha:wi: (1982)

at-tanwi:n in Abha Arabic can be attached to an indefinite substantive, verbal derivative, or verbal noun. *at-tanwi:n* does not attach to a proper noun, a word with

the definite article, a word in final position or a word occurs as annexed term¹.

Consider the following examples where there are not *tanwi:n*:

jatt ʔazi:zah

“Azi:zah came”

Sadamah ir-rajja:l

“a man hit him [by car]”

Sadamah walad il-ji:ra:n

“the neighbour’s son hit him [by car]”

ʔaTni: finja:l sha:hi:

“give me a cup of tea”

In Abha Arabic, *at-tanwi:n* is not only used to indicate an indefinite item, but also to emphasise the message carried in the sentence. Words with *at-tanwi:n* do not occur at the end of the phrase, i.e. in pause. It should be followed by an adjective, an adverb, a prepositional or a circumstantial phrase, or a verb. Consider the following examples:

A noun with *at-tanwi:n* followed by an adjective:

manti maratin sanʔah

“you are not a good woman”

shayyin she:n

“something bad”

A noun with *at-tanwi:n* followed by an adverb:

Sadamah wa:Hidin misraʔ

“he was hit [by accident] by someone in a
hurry”

A noun with *at-tanwi:n* followed by a prepositional phrase:

¹ *at-tanwi:n* can sometimes occur with nouns which occur as annexed terms when the annexed terms are verbal derivatives in a subjective or objective genitive relationships (cf. 2.2.2.2., 7.2.1.).

ʔaTi:ha: ʔilkin min ʔilli: ʔindish “give her a gum from that which you have”

ka:n maʔha: liʔbatin min ʔaxu:ha “she had a doll from her brother”

An abstract noun with *at-tamwi:n* followed by a prepositional phrase:

maghi:r illa: maxa:Samatin “it is only fighting over the water”
ʔala: l-ma:

waSaxin ʔala: waSax “dirt on dirt”

A noun with *at-tamwi:n* followed by a circumstantial phrase:

be:t na:sin gabluhum “[it is] a house for people before them”

A noun with *at-tamwi:n* followed by a verbal phrase:

ma:hu: yxalli: Haddinn yHa:ki:h “he does not let anybody talk to him”

mka:nin shufna:h yxabbil “a place we saw is making [people] crazy”

ʔarya:nin yuTrud mwazzir “a naked [person] is chasing a [person] wearing a sarong”

An adjective with *at-tamwi:n* followed by a prepositional phrase:

shifah Tuwi:lin maʔah ʔa:riD “he is a tall [person] and he has a beard”

An adjective with *at-tamwi:n* followed by an adjective:

ʔa:lhun fugarann masa:ki:n “they are poor [and] poor”

ʿarjann Di:ʿi:fah

“a weak cripple”

ʿabyaDin mghabbir

“dusty white”

An active participle with *at-tarwi:n* followed by a circumstant:

wa le:ha: wagfatin(n) hna:k

“then she was standing there”

A noun and a following adjective may both take *at-tarwi:n*. Consider the following examples:

habatt li: ʿaklin da:fin zi:n

“she gave me a nice warm food”

*ka:n ʿale:ha: tu:bin Hari:rin
yiftaH in-nafs*

“she was wearing a silk dress that causes
happiness”

tuffa:Hin ʿaHmarin na:jaH

“red ripe apples”

A noun and two following adjectives can all take *at-tarwi:n* to indicate extra emphasis.

Consider the following examples:

*rajja:lin Tuwi:lin ʿari:Din
ma: fi:h xi:r*

“a tall fat man without a sense
of humour”

*xadat waHdin she:nin bixi:lin
ʿindah maratin min gablaha*

“she got married to a bad stingy
man who has a wife before her”

In Classical Arabic there are nouns which do not take *at-tarwi:n* for different reasons. These nouns are known as *al-ʿasma: ʿal-mamnu: ʿah min aS-Sarf*. For more details, see Si:bawayh (1971: II 193-320), ʿAbdul-Hami:d ((n.d.): II 320-338). In

Abha Arabic, however, some of these nouns also take *at-tanwi:n* as will be explained in the following sections:

Plurals like *msa:jid* “mosques”, *sta:yir* “curtains”, and *Swa:ʔiq* “thunder storms” do not take *tanwi:n* in classical Arabic but they do take it in Abha Arabic. Consider the following contexts:

ma: yiSlaH illa: sta:yrin tigi:lah “nothing but heavy curtains”

ʔinduhum msa:jidin gid “they have collapsed mosques”
tahaddamat

Swa:ʔiqin ʔaxlaʔathum “thunder storms frightened them”

Nouns which end with *a:* or *a:ʔ* as *fuqara:ʔ* “poor”, *Hamra:ʔ* “f. red” or *xaDra:ʔ* “f. green” do not take *at-tanwi:n* in classical Arabic but they do in Abha Arabic. Consider the following examples where nouns take *at-tanwi:n*:

walla:h innaha: Hamrann zi:nah “I swear it is red [and] nice”

fugarann msa:ki:n “they are poor [and] poor”

Singular adjectives formed on the *faʔla:n* and *afʔal* patterns as in *farHa:n* “happy”, *zaʔla:n* “angry”, *ʔaTsha:n* “thirsty”, *aSfar* “yellow” or *ʔaxDar* “green” do not take *tanwi:n* in classical Arabic, but they may take it in Abha Arabic. Consider the following examples:

ligi:tah farHa:nin ynaTTiT “I found him happy [and] jumping”

*ish bik zaʔla:nin kannik za:rTin lik
waHar*

“why are you as angry as if you
had swallowed a lizard”

*ka:n ʔale:ha: to:bin ʔaHmarin
she:n*

“she was wearing an ugly
red dress”

At-tanwi:n does not occur in pause even if followed by a word in the next phrase. And this is why *at-tanwi:n* is not always used. Some people are quiet, calm, cool and make frequent pauses in their speech. Others like to overwhelm their speech by using many nouns and adjectives with *tanwi:n* without pauses between them. Thus we can listen to a story full of *tanwi:n* by one person and hear the same story from another person with less *tanwi:n*. Generally speaking, older people seem to maintain *at-tanwi:n* in their speech more than younger people do.

2.3.2. Definiteness

Definiteness is essentially a nominal category. Nouns can be either definite or indefinite. An indefinite noun is any noun that indicates something which is unspecified. It may be defined by the definite article *al-* (Hasan1975: I 209-210). The definite noun, on the other hand, is a noun that indicates a specific thing. Definite nouns are listed in most of Arabic books as: personal pronouns, proper nouns, demonstrative pronouns, relative pronouns, nouns with the definite article or nouns annexed to definite nouns (al-ʔAnba:ri: 1957: 341, ʔAbdu l-Hami:d (n.d.): I 87, ʔI:d 1991: 134, Watson 1993: 19).

Definite nouns vary in the degree of definiteness. Arab grammarians are not in agreement on the hierarchy of the definiteness of nouns. However, there are two types of definite nouns: *al-maʔrifah at-ta:mmah* which includes the fully definite nouns as

the nouns with the article *al-*, pronouns, demonstratives, and proper nouns, and *al-maʿrifah an-na:qiSah* which includes the not fully definite nouns which need following words to complete their functions in the sentence such as the relatives (Hasan 1975: I 213).

Similarly, there are two types of indefinite nouns: *an-nakirah at-ta:mmah* which includes the fully indefinite nouns which refer to wide meanings or to a large group of things such as *rajul* “a man”, and *an-nakirah an-na:qiSah* which includes nouns which are not fully indefinite but are identified by indefinite annexes.

These types of definite and indefinite nouns are recognised in Abha Arabic. However, in this study, we consider indefinite nouns that are modified by annexes as definite nouns. Consider the following examples of the definite nouns in Abha Arabic listed in the proper degree of the definiteness:

<i>huwwah</i>	“he”	(a personal pronoun)
<i>ha:da:</i>	“this”	(a demonstrative)
<i>Hise:n</i>	“Husein”	(a proper noun)
<i>il-bint</i>	“the girl”	(a noun with the article)
<i>madrasat ʿawla:d</i>	“a boys school”	(a noun + an annex)

Examples of indefinite nouns:

<i>walad</i>	“a boy”
<i>madrasah</i>	“a school”

2.4. Conclusion

In the light of studying and analysing nouns we saw that nouns can be two main types: substantives, and verbal nouns and verbal derivatives. Substantives are of two types: proper nouns and common nouns (cf. 2.1.). Morphologically, substantives show

gender, number, and possession categories (cf. 2.1.3.). Syntactically, substantives can function as the predicand, predicate, verbal subject, verbal object, annex, and annexed term (cf. 2.1.4.). Verbal nouns and verbal derivatives differ from substantives in that they are derived from verbs. They have some features of verbs such as being able to take a subject or object. However, they are similar to nouns in functioning as the predicand, predicate, subject, object, and annex (cf. 2.2.). At the end of this chapter, I discussed two main features of nouns, *at-tarwi:n* (cf. 2.3.1.) and definiteness (cf. 2.3.2.).

Chapter Three

The Verb

The verb is defined by az-Zamaxshari: as that part of speech that denotes an event accompanied by time (az-Zamaxshari: 1859: 108). Similar to the noun, the verb is a member of an open system (cf. p. 39). Verbs are distinguished by the fact that they take bound subject pronouns.

3.1. The morphological features of the verb

Verbs have consonantal roots fitted into different morphological patterns. The root of the verb can be trilateral or quadrilateral, i.e. they may have either three or four consonantal radicals. The radicals may be all sound consonants or some of them may be glides. A verb with all sound consonants is called a strong verb *fi 'l SaHi:H*, and a verb with one or more vowel glides is called a weak verb *fi 'l mu 'tal*. The weak verb can be either an initial weak verb, a middle weak verb, or a final weak verb. The initial weak verb has an initial glide radical and is also called assimilated verb. The middle weak verb has a middle glide radical and is also called a hollow verb. The final weak verb has a final glide radical and is also called a defective verb. The glides of the weak verbs either change or are lost when verbs inflect (Cowell 1964: 41-46).

3.1.1. The strong verbs

The strong trilateral verbs take the pattern *fa'al* /*fa'l* and the strong quadrilateral verbs take the pattern *fa'lal* or *fa'fa'*. Consider the following examples:

Trilateral strong verbs

<i>xaraj</i>	“he went out”
<i>Talaʕ</i>	“he went up”
<i>laʕb</i>	“he played”
<i>labs</i>	“he put on”
<i>rakb</i>	“he rode”
<i>sharb</i>	“he drank”
<i>DaHk</i>	“he laughed”

Quadriliteral verbs

<i>kalfat</i>	“he wrapped [untidily]”
<i>laxbaT</i>	“he mixed up”
<i>xarbaT</i>	“he mixed up”
<i>daHraj</i>	“he rolled”
<i>dagdag</i>	“he smashed”
<i>laflaf</i>	“he turned around”

Triliteral strong verbs can have three different radicals as above, or the last two radicals identical, i.e. doubled or geminate. Examples of triliteral strong verbs with identical final two radicals are as follows:

<i>madd</i>	“he extended”
<i>ʕadd</i>	“he counted”
<i>laff</i>	“he turned around”
<i>rann</i>	“he rang”
<i>kaff</i>	“he stopped”

<i>hazz</i>	“he shook”
<i>maTT</i>	“he pulled”
<i>ʕaDD</i>	“he bit”

Triliteral and quadriliteral verbs also take number of regular derivative patterns. These patterns are traditionally classified in forms. The following table shows triliteral verb forms starting from the basic form which is discussed above:

Form	Pattern	Example
I	<i>faʕal/ faʕl</i>	<i>xaraj</i> “he went out” <i>/ DaHk</i> “he laughed”
II	<i>faʕʕal</i>	<i>kallam</i> “he talked to”
III	<i>fa:ʕal</i>	<i>xa:sam</i> “he argued with”
IV	<i>ʕafʕl</i>	<i>ʕaxraj</i> “he got out something”
V	<i>tfaʕʕal</i>	<i>taxarraJ</i> “he graduated from”
VI	<i>tafa:ʕal</i>	<i>tana:wab</i> “he got a turn”
VII	<i>ʕanfaʕal</i>	<i>ʕankasar</i> “it broke”
VIII	<i>ʕaftaʕal</i>	<i>ʕaftataH</i> “he started”
X	<i>ʕastafʕal</i>	<i>ʕastaghrib</i> “he found [something] strange”

Table (3.1.)

Quadriliteral verbs have only one derived form II beside the basic form I. The derived form, form II, has the pattern *tafaʕʕal* as in *talaxbaT* “he became mixed up”, *talaflaf* “he collected himself”.

These derived patterns carry different semantic meanings, for more details see ar-RajHi: (1984: 26-42) and Willmore (1905: 115-121) for classical Arabic, Cowell (1964: Chapters 3 and 9) for Syrian Arabic, Watson (1993: 435-444) for Sanʿāni: Arabic, and Johnstone (1967: 42-51) for Eastern Arabic dialects.

3.1.2. The weak verbs

The initial and final weak verbs take the patterns *faʿal* / or *faʿl*, whereas the middle weak verbs take the pattern *fa:l*. Medial and final glide radicals are usually realised as long vowels as *a:*, *i:*, *u:*. Consider the following examples

Initial weak verbs:

<i>waSal/ waSl</i>	“[he] arrived”
<i>wagaf</i>	“[he] stood up”
<i>wazan</i>	“[he] weighed”
<i>waʿad</i>	“[he] promised”
<i>waʿa:</i>	“[he] became aware”
<i>wafa:</i>	“[he] made a promise”, or “he/it is completed”
<i>washa:</i>	“[he] gossiped”, or “he caused a problem between others”
<i>yabs</i>	“[it] dried”

Middle weak verbs:

<i>ga:l</i>	“[he] said”
<i>xa:f</i>	“[he] was frightened”

<i>ba:ʔ</i>	“[he] sold”
<i>Ha:l</i>	“[he] separated”
<i>ma:l</i>	“[he] leaned”
<i>xa:n</i>	“[he] cheated”
<i>ha:n</i>	“[he] insulted”
<i>za:n</i>	“[he] became nice”

Final weak verbs:

<i>baka:</i>	“[he] cried”
<i>gaDa:</i>	“[he] did” or “[he] judged”
<i>mala:</i>	“[he] filled”
<i>ʔafa:</i>	“[he] forgave”
<i>masha:</i>	“[he] walked”
<i>ʔawa:</i>	“[he] (the dog) barked”
<i>daʔa:</i>	“[he] called”
<i>raDi:</i>	“[he] became satisfied”
<i>bagi:</i>	“[it] remained”

3.2. Syntactic categories

Arab grammarians divide the verb into different types according to their tense, their transitivity, their deficiency and their inefficiency, etc. For more details, see Ibnu-Yaʔi:sh ((n.d.): VII 2-127). Cowell says that verbs in Syrian Arabic are inflected for tense, person, number/gender, and mood (Cowell 1964: 173). Watson categorises the verb in Sanʔa:ni Arabic into different categories according to aspect, voice, mood and

tense (Watson 1993: 55). These classifications are due to morphological and semantic properties which will not be discussed in detail in this study. In the following section I will focus only on those features of the verb which are necessary in order to understand the syntactic function of the verb.

3.2.1. The transitivity of the verb

The verb in Abha Arabic can be transitive or intransitive. An intransitive verb does not take an object whereas a transitive verb can take one or more objects (cf. 8.1). Consider the following examples:

Transitive verbs:

<i>daxal il-madrasah</i>	“he entered school”
<i>xalaSaw imtaHa:na:thum</i>	“they finished their exams”
<i>‘ana: ‘aʔrif ‘abu:k</i>	“I know your father”
<i>biyo:Salu:n jiddah bukrah</i>	“they will arrive in Jeddah tomorrow”

Intransitive verbs:

<i>il-ʔuwa:l jaw</i>	“the boys came”
<i>ga:matt ‘ummi:</i>	“my mother woke up”
<i>il-maTar yumTur</i>	“the rain is raining (i.e. it is raining)”
<i>ghada:na: ‘anHarag</i>	“our dinner is burnt”

3.2.2. The aspect of the verb

Verbs have two aspects: perfect and imperfect. In the perfect aspect, verbs take bound subject pronouns (cf. 3.3.3.1.), whereas in the imperfect aspect, verbs take bound subject pronouns and prefixes which the Arab grammarians call '*aHruf al-muDa:raʕah*'. (cf. 3.3.3.2.)

Perfect verbs can indicate the past tense (Watson 1993: 63). Imperfect verbs can indicate the present tense. We should note that tense and aspect do not have a direct correlation. The future tense can be indicated by an imperfect verb plus the prefix *b*. Perfect verbs can be used also to indicate future in a conditional phrase (cf. 4.5.2.6.). In Sanʕa:ni: Arabic, the perfect can indicate the past, future, present or imperative, see Watson (1993: 63-65). Consider the following examples:

A perfect verb denotes past tense

<i>tazawwajat bintuhum il-ʕa:m</i>	"their daughter got married last year"
<i>gaʕadaw ʕahlik hna:k</i>	"your family stayed there"
<i>daxal ʕale:h fajʕah</i>	"he came to him suddenly"
<i>waggafatt is-sayya:rah</i>	"the car stopped"

A perfect verb denote future in a conditional phrase:

<i>ʕida: ga:balna:hum gulna: lhum</i>	"when we meet them we will tell them"
<i>mata:ma: baghe:ti: f taʕa:li:</i>	"whenever you want [to come] come"
<i>le: gaʕad xarb</i>	"if it is left, it will be spoiled"

An imperfect verb denotes present tense

<i>il-bana:t yilbasu:n fo:g</i>	“the girls are dressing upstairs”
<i>‘axu:ha: yudrus fi l-ja:m‘ah</i>	“her brother is studying in the university”
<i>‘int timriD il-galb</i>	“you are making the heart sick”
<i>‘ana: ‘at‘ab ma‘hum</i>	“I am working hard with them”

An imperfect verb denotes future tense

<i>byuju:n il-ji:ra:n da l-Hi:n</i>	“the neighbours are going to come now”
<i>btihda: in-nufu:s insha:llah</i>	“the souls will become peaceful with God’s well”
<i>bya:xdu:nha: bukrah</i>	“they will take it tomorrow”
<i>bitsa:fir ba‘de:n</i>	“she will travel later”

3.2.3. The voice of the verb

The verb in Abha Arabic can be active or passive. The passive verb is distinguished from the active verb in that it takes a particular morphological form and a passive subject. The passive verb denotes the process of the verb that happens to the object of the active verb without indicating the subject of the active verb. This subject is implicit in the passive verb either because it is not important to mention or because it is well known to the listener. Consider the following table:

The active voice

kasar 'ali: il-ku:b

“Ali broke the cup”

fi:h na:s 'aHrago: il-maHall

“there are people who set fire to
the shop”

gaDe:na: shughlina:

“we did our work”

in-NaSr hazam il-Hila:l

“in-NaSr [team] beat il-Hila:l”

The passive voice

'ankasar il-ku:b

“the cup was broken”

'anHarag il-maHall

“the shop was set on
fire”

'angaDa: shughlina:

“our work is done”

'anhazam il-Hila:l

“il-Hi:lal was beaten”

Morphologically, the passive verb in Abha Arabic takes the pattern *'anfa'al* in the perfect aspect and *-nfi'il* in the imperfect aspect. Consider the following examples:

Perfect passive:

'anDarab

“he was beaten”

'angatal

“he was killed”

'anSarag

“it was stolen”

'ankatab

“it was written”

'anrasal

“it was sent”

Imperfect passive:

yinDirib

“he is being beaten”

yinSidim

“it is being crashed into”

tinsirig

“it is being stolen”

tinrisil

“it is being sent”

Generally, people tend to avoid the passive voice especially the perfect passive. They often refer to the unknown subject by *wa:Hid*, ‘*aHadd*’ “someone” or “somebody”.

3.3. Syntactic function

3.3.1. Governing theory *naDariyyat al-ʿa:mil*

Verbs in classical Arabic always take a subject which is either explicit or implicit. In governing theory, the verb affects the final case of the subject *Harakat al-ʿiʿra:b*, thus it is considered to be *al-ʿa:mil* “the governor” and the subject to be *al-maʿmu:l* “the governee”. Moreover, the verb affects the final case of its object(s) as well. The verb is not the only part of speech that is considered to be a governor, verbal nouns and verbal derivatives (cf. 2.2.) and some particles are also considered to be governors. Moreover, some grammarians say that the predicand is considered to be a governor and the predicate a governee, for more details, see ʿAma:yah ((n.d.): 50-60).

Although many Arab grammarians including Si:bawayh agree that the governor *al-ʿa:mil* affects the final case of the governee *al-maʿmu:l*, governing theory is not accepted by some grammarians including al-QurTubi: ((n.d.): 24-35) who denies the rule of the governor on the final case of the governee. Other grammarians including Ibnu-Jinni: do not deny the rule of the governor, but believe that the speaker is the one who affects that case i.e. the speaker is the one who gives the final case making him the governor (Ibnu-Jinni: 1952: I 109-110). For more details, see ʿAma:yah: ((n.d.):

65-72). Governing theory is denied by some modern Arab grammarians too. Dayf follows al-QurTubi: and denies the rule of governing. He proposes a new grammar of Arabic in his book *Tajdi:d an-NaHwi* (1982). Ani:s claims that the theory of the governor and final case endings have been made up by grammarians in the past because they had difficulties controlling all these rules (Ani:s 1978: 199-274).

Despite the absence of final case endings in Abha Arabic, governing theory can be recognised in the function of the verb, verbal derivatives and verbal nouns. The verb, always needs an implicit or explicit subject in order to indicate the event the verb describes. Verbal derivatives and verbal nouns can also take subjects or objects as their governees (cf. 2.2.). We may also say that the predicand is a governor and the predicate a governee since the predicand always takes a predicate in Abha Arabic.

3.3.2. The agreement between the verb and its subject

The verb indicates the gender and number of the subject by taking a bound subject pronoun and/or an imperfect prefix (cf. 5.1.1.2.a., 3.3.3.2.). Consider the following examples:

<i>btudrus shiri:fah fi l-madrasah</i> <i>'illi: Ho:lina:</i>	“Shari:fah is going to study in the school which is nearby”
<i>bta:xudha: 'uxtaha: minha:</i>	“her sister is going to take it from her”
<i>daxalatt il-bint w hi: ma: tadri:</i>	“the girl came in not knowing”
<i>ga:latt Sami:rah innah byiji:</i>	“Sami:rah said that he would come”

<i>xala:S gid ʔarfo: in-na:s b kull shay</i>	“It is over, people know every thing now”
<i>gaʔad aw bana:tha: ʕindaha: iS-Se:f kullah</i>	“her daughters stayed with her all summer”

The verb does not usually agree with the number of a following subject in classical Arabic (ʔI:d 1991: 400). In other words, the verb does not show whether the following subject is singular, dual or plural. Consider the following examples in classical Arabic:

<i>qa:ma zaydun</i>	“Zayd stood up”
<i>qa:mat aT-Ta:libata:ni</i>	“the two students f.d. stood up”
<i>qa:ma aT-Ta:liba:ni</i>	“the two students m.d. stood up”
<i>qa:ma aT-Tulla:bu</i>	“the students m.p. stood up”
<i>qa:matt aT-Ta:liba:tu</i>	“the students f.p. stood up”

However, in some forms of Arabic, the verb can take a bound subject pronoun which agrees with the number of the following subject. This case is considered by some linguists as odd Arabic. They call it the language of *ʔakalo:ni: al-bara:ghi:t* “the fleas ate me” which refers to using bound subject pronouns together with a following noun subject. Three assumptions about the function and the relation between both the bound pronoun and following noun subjects are discussed by Arab grammarians:

The first assumption considers the noun to be the predicand and the verb with the bound pronoun to be the predicate.

The second assumption considers the bound pronoun to be the subject and the following noun to be its *badal* “appositive”.

The third assumption considers the bound pronoun to be a marker to indicate the number of the subject while the following noun is the subject. For more details, see ʔAbdu l-Hami:d ((n.d.): I 467- 473).

In Abha Arabic as in other modern dialects of Arabic, people, in most cases, use bound pronouns attached to verbs while followed by noun subjects functioning as appositives. Consider the following examples, the bound subject pronouns and the noun subjects are highlighted in bold:

<i>Darabu:h il-ʔuwa:l</i>	“the children beat him”
<i>kallamo:ha: ʔaxwa:nha: ʔams</i>	“her brothers talked to her yesterday”
<i>gid ʔallam o: lha: il-bana:t</i>	“the girls have told her”
<i>ga:lat Sami:rah inn Ahmad byaʔTi:na: sayya:ratah</i>	“Sami:rah said that Ahmad would give us his car”
<i>xallaSaw il-ʔuwa: l il-madrasah ʔams w ju:ni: da l-yo:m</i>	“the children finished school yesterday and came to me today”
<i>nagaSatt ʔummi: sittah ki:lu:</i>	“my mother lost six kilos”

In some contexts, the verb can take a bound pronoun followed by a free personal pronoun or demonstrative to show more emphasis. Consider the following examples:

<i>ruHt ana: le: ʔindaha:</i>	“I went to her”
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<i>jatt hiyyah b nafsaha:</i>	“she came herself”
<i>gaddamatha: hiyyah luhum</i>	“she gave it to them”
<i>jattni: te:h tis'al 'an 'awra:g 'abu:ha:</i>	“this [woman] came asking about her father’s papers”
<i>ga:lo: du:la: innuhum bisawwu:nah</i>	“these [people] said that they will do it”

Before *w/wa/wu* “with”, the free pronoun must be repeated even though it is preceded by a bound subject pronoun just as in the classical Arabic and other dialects of Arabic.

Consider the following examples:

<i>waSlo: hum w 'wa:lhum</i>	“they arrived with their families”
<i>gid ra:Hatt hiyyah w bintaha:</i>	“she has left with her daughter”

However, in some cases, people use the verb without number agreement with the following subject i.e. the verb does not take a bound pronoun. This usage is not common. Consider the following examples, the subjects are highlighted in bold:

<i>ja:h Di:fa:n</i>	“guests came to him”
<i>'axxarah 'imma:lin ma'ah</i>	“labourers that were with him made him late”
<i>gid ja:h inda:ra:t katj:rah</i>	“he has received lots of warnings”
<i>'aggada:h il-mdarrisi:n</i>	“the teachers made him hate school”

3.3.3. The verb and bound subject pronouns

As mentioned above, verbs are distinguished from other parts of speech in taking bound subject pronouns. In Abha Arabic, verbs take bound subject pronouns in three cases:

3.3.3.1. The first case

In the first case, verbs take bound subject pronouns when they are in the perfect aspect. Consider the following table for the strong verb *daxal*. The bound subject pronouns are highlighted in bold:

	Singular	Plural
1.	<i>daxalt</i> “I entered	<i>daxalna:</i> “we entered”
2m.	<i>daxalt</i> “you entered”	<i>daxaltu:</i> “you entered”
2f.	<i>daxalti:</i> “you entered”	<i>daxaltu:</i> “you entered”
3m.	<i>daxal</i> “he entered”	<i>daxalo:</i> “they entered”
3f.	<i>daxalat</i> “she entered”	<i>daxalo:</i> “they entered”

Table (3.2.)

Note that the 3m./f. plural *o:* is sometimes realised as *aw*. *aw* is often used with final weak verbs such as the verbs *ja:* “came”, *gaDa:* “did”, *masha:* “walked”. The final weak verb usually changes its form when it takes bound subject pronouns. Consider the following table for the verb *ja:*.

	Singular	Plural
1.	<i>ji:t</i>	<i>ji:na:</i>

2m.	<i>ji:t</i>	<i>ji:tu:</i>
2f.	<i>ji:ti:</i>	<i>ji:tu:</i>
3m.	<i>ja:</i>	<i>jaw/ jo:</i>
3f.	<i>jatt</i>	<i>jaw/ jo:</i>

Table (3.3.)

3.3.3.2. The second case

Verbs take bound subject pronouns and person/gender/number prefixes '*aHruf*' '*al-muDa:raʔah*' in the imperfect aspect. The Arab grammarians do not consider the imperfect prefixes to be pronouns but markers to denote the present tense. Consider the following table for the imperfect prefixes.

	Singular	Plural
1.	' <i>a</i>	<i>nu/ ni/ na</i>
2m.	<i>tu/ ti/ ta</i>	<i>tu/ ti/ ta</i>
2f.	<i>tu/ ti / ta</i>	<i>tu/ ti/ ta</i>
3m.	<i>yu/ yi/ ya</i>	<i>yu/ yi/ ya</i>
3f.	<i>tu/ ti/ ta</i>	<i>yu/ yi/ ya</i>

Table (3.4.)

As shown in the above table, the vowel of the imperfect prefix can be realised as *u*, *i* or *a*. Some people use either *a*, *u*, or *i* and others vary between them. In general where the stem vowel is *a* or *i*, the prefix vowel will be *a* or *i*, but where the stem vowel is *u*, the prefix vowel will be *u* or *a*. Consider the following examples for 3.m. s. verbs :

Verbs take either *i* or *a*:

<i>yiTbax</i>	<i>yaTbax</i>	“he is cooking”
<i>yishrab</i>	<i>yashrab</i>	“he is drinking”
<i>yilʔab</i>	<i>yalʔab</i>	“he is playing”
<i>yiʔTi:</i>	<i>yaʔTi:</i>	“he is giving”
<i>yiftaH</i>	<i>yaftaH</i>	“he is opening”
<i>yirsim</i>	<i>yarsim</i>	“he is drawing”
<i>yignaʔ</i>	<i>yagnaʔ</i>	“he is getting satisfied”
<i>yiʔjin</i>	<i>yaʔjin</i>	“he is making dough”

Verbs take either *u* or *a*:

<i>yurgud</i>	<i>yargud</i>	“he is sleeping”
<i>yudxul</i>	<i>yadxul</i>	“he is entering”
<i>yuktub</i>	<i>yaktub</i>	“he is writing”
<i>yudrus</i>	<i>yadrus</i>	“he is studying”
<i>yusguT</i>	<i>yasguT</i>	“he is failing”
<i>yugfuz</i>	<i>yagfuz</i>	“he is jumping”
<i>yuxruj</i>	<i>yaxruj</i>	“he is getting out”

Mid-weak or hollow verbs take *i* only as in: *yiʔa:f* “he hates”, *yixa:f* “he is scared”
yiru:H “he is going”, *yiSu:n* “he is taking care”, *yixu:n* “he is cheating”, *yigu:l* “he is
saying” *yiTi:H* “he is felling down” *yiʔi:n* “he is helping”, *yizi:n* “he is becoming nice”,
and *yibi:ʔ* “he is selling”.

Consider the following table for the verb *daxal* “entered” in the second case where it takes imperfect prefixes and bound subject pronouns:

	Singular	Plural
1.	<i>ʼadxul</i>	<i>nudxul</i>
2m.	<i>tudxul</i>	<i>tudxulu:n</i>
2f.	<i>tudxu:li:n</i>	<i>tudxulu:n</i>
3m.	<i>yudxul</i>	<i>yudxulu:n</i>
3f.	<i>tudxul</i>	<i>yudxulu:n</i>

Table (3.5.)

3.3.3.3. The third case

In the third case, verbs take bound subject pronouns and prothetic vowels in the imperative. Prothetic vowels are required to enable the speaker to pronounce the word easily. Only verbs with two initial consonants take prothetic vowels. The prothetic vowels are *ʼu* and *ʼi*. The verb takes *ʼu* where the stem vowel of the imperative is *u* and takes *ʼi* where the stem vowel is *a* or *i*. Consider the following tables for two verbs with *ʼu* and *i*:

	Singular	Plural
2m.	<i>ʼugʼud</i>	<i>ʼugʼudu:</i>
2f.	<i>ʼugʼudi:</i>	<i>ʼugʼudu:</i>

Table (3.6.)

	Singular	Plural
2m.	<i>'imsaH</i>	<i>'imsuHu:</i>
2f.	<i>'imsiHi:</i>	<i>'imsuHu:</i>

Table (3.7.)

We should note that not all imperative verbs take prothetic vowels. Verbs with initial hamzah such as *'akal* “ate”, *'axad* “took”, do not take these vowels and have the imperative forms: *kul*, *xud*.

Final and initial weak verbs take these vowels as in: *'igD* “do”, *'u:ʔid* “promise”, *'u:ʔi:* “fulfill the promise” or “complete”, .

Verbs in form II with a doubled second radical do not take any prothetic vowel in the imperative forms such as: *ʔallim* “teach”, *ʔaTTiH* “open”, *ʔabb* “fill”, *kallim* “speak to”, *wassiʔ* “make a place”, *naDDif* “clean”.

Verbs in form IV as *'aʔTa:* “gave” can be realised in the imperative as *ʔaTT* or *'aʔT*.

Some verbs can be used with or without a prothetic vowel by optionally doubling the second radical as: *'imsaH* or *massiH*, *'iftaH* or *fattiH*, and *'aʔT* or *ʔaTT* .

3.4. Conclusion

Considering the discussion of the verb, we conclude that strong and weak verbs are fitted morphologically into specific patterns (cf.3.1.). Verbs in Abha Arabic can be divided into different categories according to the transitivity of the verb, the aspect of the verb and the voice of the verb (cf. 3.2.). The verb is considered to be a governor since it always takes subject (cf. 3.3.1.). The subject of the verb usually follows the verb, if the subject precedes the verb, it is considered to be a predicand. The verb agrees with the number and gender of the subject by taking bound subject pronouns and/or imperfect prefixes. In Abha Arabic, the verb can take a bound subject pronoun plus a following subject. The bound subject pronoun usually agrees with the number and gender of the following subject with a few exceptions (cf. 3.3.2.). Verbs in Abha Arabic take bound pronouns in three cases: 1) When they are in perfect aspect and indicate past tense verbs take bound subject pronouns; 2) When they are in the imperfect aspect and indicate present or future tense, they take bound subject pronouns and person/gender/number prefixes; 3) When they are used for command, they take subject bound pronouns plus prothetic vowels (cf. 3.3.3.).

Chapter Four

Particles

The particle is defined by az-Zamaxshari: as that which indicates a meaning in other parts of speech and always requires a verb or a noun (az-Zamaxshari: 1859: 108). There are a wide range of particles in Abha Arabic. Each set of particles constitutes a closed system (cf. p. 39). Particles do not exhibit morphological contrast, i.e. they do not inflect. They do not take the definite article. They have no complete meaning in themselves, so they depend on other parts of speech to complete their meaning. The main feature of particles that distinguishes them from all other parts of speech is that they never function as the subject, object, predicand or the predicate. They introduce, relate, negate, define, or coordinate. These particles include *gid* (cf. 4.1.), *ha:l* and its sociological variants (cf. 4.2.), *fi:h* and *ba:/bah* (cf. 4.3.), the particle *ha:h* (cf. 4.4.), conjunctions (cf. 4.5.), prepositions (cf. 4.6.), response particles (cf. 4.7.), negative particles (cf. 4.8.), the articles (cf. 4.9.), and the vocative particles (cf. 4.10). These particles will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

4.1. The particle *gid*

gid is commonly used in this dialect. It can be considered to be derived from the classical *qad*. However, *gid* in Abha Arabic has different functions from *qad* in classical Arabic (for more details about the function of *qad* in classical Arabic see al-AnSa:ri: (1987: I 170-175). In Abha Arabic *gid* is used in both verbal and nominal sentences .

4.1.1. *gid* in verbal sentences

gid usually occurs before the perfect verb. It often means that the action of the verb was planned or expected. Consider the following examples:

gid zurna:ha: fi l-mustashfa: “we have visited her in the hospital”

In the above example it was expected that the speakers should have visited her. But in:

zurna:ha: fi l-mustashfa: “we visited her in the hospital”

It means that the speakers were not expected to visit her but they did it.

In:

gid ra:H luhum ʔali: ʔams “Ali went to them yesterday”

It was expected that someone should go to them. But in:

ra:H ʔa:li: l-ʔxwa:lah ʔams “Ali went to his uncles yesterday”

It was not expected that Ali would go.

Similarly with:

gid waldat min ʔisbu:ʔe:n w “she delivered two weeks

ja:bat walad ago and had a boy”

gid also occurs with the perfect verb to show certainty and express completion.

Consider the following examples:

gid rasab marrate:n “he has failed twice”

gid gult lah w fahhamtah “I told him and explained to him
bass innah ma: Ta: ʔni: but he did not listen”

gid ʔirift min badri: innik
ma ant btsawwi:ha:

“I knew from the beginning
 that you would not do it”

gid can be used as a question device in yes/no question to ask about something that is/was expected, as in:

gid sa:far ʔaxu:k?

“has your brother left?”

gid nagalaw fi: be:thum
il-jidi:d?

“have they moved to their new house?”

4.1.2. *gid* in nominal sentences

gid can precede a predication structure to emphasise the information that is held in the predication. It mainly assures the change and the result that happened or will soon happen. Consider the following examples:

gidik rajja:l

“you [became] a [young] man”

gid a:l mHammad ʔindina:

“the Mohammad [are] with
 us”

gid ʔaxu:ha: byitxarraj min
l-ja:mʔah

“her brother will graduate from
 the university [soon]”

ji:thum gid in-na:s ʔinduhum

“I came and the people were
 already there”

gid with a definite noun or personal pronoun indicates something which has already happened or is going to happen very soon. Consider the following examples:

walla:h in gidni: bagu:lah

“by God, I was going to say it”



<i>ma: waSalt il-be:t illa: w gid</i> <i>'ahli: byinjamu:n</i>	"I came home and my parents were going nuts"
---	---

<i>ji:thum gid hum Talʕi:n</i>	"I came to them and they were going out"
--------------------------------	---

gid can also function as a question device in yes/no questions, as in:

<i>gid ʕursuhum giri:b?</i>	"is their wedding soon?"
-----------------------------	--------------------------

<i>gid bintaha: Ha:mi:l?</i>	"is her daughter [become] pregnant"
------------------------------	-------------------------------------

4.1.3. *gid* and the pronouns

gid can occur with free subject pronouns and bound object pronouns. some people use *gid* with free subject pronouns and others use *gid* with bound object pronouns. Sometimes, people may mix these forms. Consider the following table for *gid* with free subject pronouns and bound object pronouns:

<i>gid</i> + bound object pronoun	<i>gid</i> + free subject pronoun
1s. <i>gidni:</i>	<i>gid ana</i>
1p. <i>gid(d)na:</i>	<i>gid Hin</i>
2.m.s. <i>gidik</i>	<i>gid ant/ int</i>
2.f.s. <i>gidish</i>	<i>gid anti:/ inti:</i>
2.p. <i>gidkum</i>	<i>gid antu:/ intu:</i>
3.m.s. <i>gidah</i>	<i>gid hu:</i>
3.f.s. <i>gidha:</i>	<i>gid hi:</i>
3.p. <i>gidhum</i>	<i>gid hum</i>

Table (4.1.)

4.2. The particles *ha:l*, *‘a:l*, *‘a:y*, and *‘a:*

These particles are commonly used in Abha Arabic. Supposedly, *‘a:l* is the short form of *ha:l* and *‘a:* is the short form of *‘a:y*. They have different origins. However, *‘a:l* seems to be used mostly among young speakers from different origins. *ha:l* is used mostly by old people from ʔAsi:r and the Tiha:mah. *‘a:* and *‘a:y* are used by old people who are originally from GaHTa:n and surrounding areas. All of these particles are used before a predication structure. They are used to emphasise the information that is given about the predicand. They sometimes carry the sense of surprise and sarcasm. These particles are not used before verbal sentences. Consider the following examples:

<i>‘a:y salwa: btudrus</i>	“Salwa is going to study”
<i>‘a:l mHammad najH</i>	“Mohammad passed”
<i>‘a:l maratik minhum</i>	“your wife is from them”

These particles can be attached to bound object pronouns. With these particles, bound pronouns can function as the predicand (cf. 6.1.3.1.). Consider the following examples:

<i>‘a:lah waladik</i>	“he is your son”
<i>‘a:yhum ‘illi: ga:lo: lah</i>	“they are the ones who told him”
<i>‘a:lhun du:la: ʔindish</i>	“they are with you”

4.3. The particles *fī:h* and *ba:/bah*

These particles are used as pre-predicand particles (cf. 6.1.3.2.). They are usually used before an indefinite predicand to make it easier to start with an indefinite predicand. They have the sense of “there is”. They imply that the predicand is known to the speaker even though it is indefinite. These particles are derived from prepositional phrases which mean “in it”, but do not function as prepositions. Consider the following examples:

fī:h laxbaTah fī l-mawDu:ʔ “there is a misunderstanding (lit.
there is a mix up in the issue)”

fī:h masha:kil gadi:mah “there are old problems”

The other particle, *bah*, sometimes pronounced as *ba:*, has the same function of *fī:h*, but is not commonly used today. It is used mostly by old people. Consider the following examples:

bah Sya:H fo:g “there are screams upstairs”

ba: shams da l-yo:m “there is sun today”

fī:h and *ba:/bah* can sometimes precede definite predicands or function as predicands (cf. 6.1.3.2.).

4.4. The particle *ha:h*

ha:h is used widely in Abha Arabic. There are different contexts where *ha:h* can be used in different meanings:

Firstly, *ha:h* can be used to draw the attention of the first speaker. It is used before a question asking the first speaker to finish telling the story or the event that he has started. Usually the question after *ha:h* is preceded by the conjoin *w*. Consider the following examples:

ha:h! w e:sh Sa:r luhum? “then! What happened to them?”

ha:h! w baʔde:n? “then! What happened?”

ha:h! w Saltu: ʔal wagt? “then! Did you arrive on time?”

ha:h! w ʔarfo:kum? “so! Did they know you?”

ha:h can be also used before a question when the speaker is eager or expecting to know more about something. Usually, the speaker uses *ha:h* before his question if he is familiar with the situation and already knows something about it. The second person is often familiar to the first speaker. In this case, the question is not necessarily preceded by the conjoin *wa*. Consider the following examples:

ha:h! e:sh ʔindukum? “so! what do you have?”, “what is wrong with you?”

ha:h! e:sh gultu:ʔ “so! What do you think?”

ha:h! gid sawwe:tu: l-ghada:ʔ “so! Have you made the dinner or not?”

ha:h! ke:f ka:nat jiddah? “so! How was Jeddah?”

ha:h! btruHu:n walla: la:ʔ “so! Are you going or not?”

Secondly, *ha:h* can be used as a response to a call (cf. 4.7.1.). For example:

Sami:rah "Sameerah" a call.

ha:h "yes"

Thirdly, *ha:h* can be used in place of *ha:l* and its other variants (cf. 4.2.) when attached to a bound object pronoun. Consider the following examples:

ha:ni: te:h "here I am"

ha:kum du:le:h bismillah "here you are, God bless you"
ʔale:kum

ha:ha: te:h "here she is"

ha:h di:ya:k "there he is"

ha:hum du:la: "here they are"

Note that the final *h* of *ha:h* is omitted when attached to a bound pronoun.

Fourthly, *ha:h* can be used in the sense of the imperative form of the verb "take".

Sometimes it is followed by the verb *xud* "take".

ha:h xudu: de:h "here, take this!"

ha:h "take!"

In this meaning, *ha:h* can take the 2 m./f. singular or plural bound object pronouns.

Consider the following examples:

ha:kum "take 2 p.!"

ha:k

“take 2 s.m.!”

ha:sh

“take 2 s.f.!”

When *ha:h* takes a pronoun, it cannot be followed by the verb *xud* “take” unless there is a pause between the words. Consider the following examples:

ha:sh, xudi: de:h ma'ash

“take this with you!”

ha:k, xud ra:ji' di:

“take this, review it!”

4.5. Conjunction

4.5.1. Coordinators

There are many coordinators in Abha Arabic. They conjoin words, phrases, clauses and sentences. Sometimes, they conjoin more than one syntactic item depending on the kind of coordinators as will be discussed below. Some of these coordinators conjoin words, phrases, clauses and sentences such as *wa*, *'aw/ walla*, *'amma.... 'aw/ walla* and *hem/ hum*, others only conjoin clauses or sentences such as *f/ fa/ fa:/ fghe:r*, *bass*, and *la:kin*. The following table shows these coordinators:

Coordinators	Gloss
<i>w/ wa/ wu</i>	and
<i>'aw/ walla:</i>	or
<i>'amma.... 'aw/walla</i>	eitheror
<i>f/ fa/ fa:/ fghe:r</i>	then, so
<i>ba' de:n</i>	then
<i>la:kin/ bass/ ghe:r</i>	but

<i>hem/ hum</i>	then, after that, to conjoin sentences in telling story or event in sequence.
<i>h(aw)</i>	and, in telling events or story, to talk about something that should have been mentioned before.

Table (4.2.)

4.5.1.1. *w/ wa/ wu* and *'aw/ walla*:

The coordinators *w* and *'aw/walla* can conjoin more than one syntactic item. These items can be syntactically equal words, phrases, clauses or sentences. *wa* coordinates parallel notions, whereas *'aw/walla* conjoin contrastive or alternative notions. Consider the following examples:

<i>gaddam 'awra:gah 'ala:</i> <i>l- waza:rah w 'ala: l-ja:m'ah</i>	“he presented his papers to the Ministry and the University”
<i>'axad tya:bah w kutubah</i> <i>w 'aghra:Dah kullaha:</i>	“he took his clothes and his books and all his stuff”
<i>jatna: w ga'adat 'indana:</i>	“she came and stayed with us”
<i>hiyyah tibgha tudrus 'ulu:m</i> <i>aw Hisa:b</i>	“she wants to study science or maths”
<i>ruH luhum walla: 'ug'ud</i> <i>ma'na:</i>	“go to them or stay with us”
<i>'int iddawir 'ala: 'ali: walla:</i> <i>tiDHak 'alayyah?</i>	“are you looking for Ali or are you lying to me?”

Sometimes, some of these coordinators coordinate unequal syntactic items. Consider the following examples:

<i>tibgha: l-ghada: walla: tna:m?</i>	“do you want dinner or to sleep?”
<i>hi: ʕindik min awwal 'aw</i>	“was it available with you before
<i>du:bik 'ashtare:tha:?</i>	or did you recently buy it?”

4.5.1.2. 'amma:... 'aw/walla:

'amma:... 'aw/walla: usually conjoins two items. It implies alternation. It can coordinate words, phrases, clauses or sentences. Consider the following examples:

<i>'ixta:r 'amma: l-madrasah</i>	“choose either the school
<i>walla: l-warshah</i>	or the workshop”
<i>'ana b'aHa:wil, amma: inni:</i>	“I will try, either I succeed
<i>'anjaH 'aw inni: 'arsib</i>	or I fail”

4.5.1.3. f/ fa/ fghe:r

f/ fa/ fghe:r are used to conjoin clauses or sentences. *f/ fa* implies sequence and consequence, whereas *fghe:r* implies consequence only. *fghe:r* is mostly used in telling stories or long events. Older people tend to use *fghe:r* more than younger people do. Consider the following examples:

Sequence

<i>mata: za:natt f zi:di: xalli:ha</i>	“when it is ready, then leave it
<i>shwayyah ʕan-na:r</i>	a bit longer on the fire”

*sa'alatni: f gult lha: ʔala:
kull shay*

“she asked me, then I told her
everything”

Sometimes, *f* can be used in the meaning of “but”, such as:

*baghatt takallmni: f ma:
ʔaʔTe:tha: wajh*

“she wanted to talk to me, but I
did not give her a face (i.e. I
ignored her)”

Consequence

*ligi:tah zaʔla:n w miHtishi: f
kallamtah w fahhamtah*

“I found him angry, so I talked to
him and explained [it] to him”

*daxal ʔale:na: baghtah fghe:r
gumu: ya n-niswa:n yitsha:radu:n*

“he came in suddenly, so the
women went running”

*yo:m sha:f il-bint gid hi: bitTi:H,
fghe:r gum¹ w msakha:*

“when he saw the girl going to
fall, he jumped and caught her”

4.5.1.4. *baʔde:n*

This coordinator usually implies sequence. It is used often to coordinate sentences in telling stories or long events. Usually this coordinator is used to refer to the later things that happened². Consider the following examples:

*...baʔde:n laHgu:na: a:l
mHammad*

“then the Mohammad followed us”

¹ The verb may occur in the imperative form after some coordinators such as *fghe:r* when telling stories only.

² *baʔde:n* can sometimes function as an adverb in the sense of “later”, as in:

laHgo:na: a:l mHammad baʔde:n

“the Mohammad followed us later”

<i>..baʔde:n kallamtaha: w aʔta <u>dart</u></i>	“then I called her and told
<i>minha: w gult lha: inni: mani:</i>	her that I would not be able to
<i>bagdar ʔaji:</i>	come”

...baʔde:n ʔattafagna: maʔnum “then we had a deal with them”

4.5.1.5. *hem/ hum*

These coordinators are used to imply sequence. They conjoin sentences in telling stories, like *baʔde:n*. Consider the following examples:

<i>ruHna: l 'ahli: hum samarna:</i>	“we went to my family, and then
<i>ʕinduhum ila: ʕasharah</i>	we stayed there till ten o'clock”

durna: fi s-su:g ma: xalle:na “we searched in the market [and]
maHall hum in Hin fi: l-‘axi:r we did not leave any shop, and
nla:gi:ha: fi: maHall‘abu:yah then we found it in the end in my
 father’s shop”

<i>yo:m Ta:h fghe:r gu:mi, hum</i>	“when he failed, she stood up
<i>‘iftiHi: il-ba:b, hum ‘uxruji:</i>	then opened the door, then left”

hum can be attached to *le:*¹ to express surprise or to describe something which has unexpectedly happened. *hum(ma) + le:* occurs before a noun or pronoun (personal or demonstrative). It is usually attached to a bound pronoun or precedes a free pronoun if

¹ *le:* is a presentational particle which function similarly to the classical *ida: bi*. It often occurs after the conjoins *wa* and *hum*. It occurs before a noun or a pronoun. It gives the sense of “suddenly there was..”, see Watson for ‘*inn* in Sanʿani Arabic (1993: 425).

preceded by the negator *ma:*. *hummale:* is found in the ʔAjmi: dialect according to Johnstone's material (Johnstone 1961: 279). *hummale:* has an equivalent in the Murra dialect which is *ṭimmila:y* or *ṭimmile:* according to Ingham's data (Ingham 1986: 281-282). I think the Murra particle consists of the conjoin *ṭim* which is equivalent to the classical *ṭumma* "then" plus the presentational particle *le:* which occurs in Abha, ʔAjmi: and the Murra dialect. Consider the following examples of *hummale:* in Abha Arabic:

<i>gid baghe:na: niji:kum w mugʔud</i>	"we wanted to come to you and
<i>maʔkum yo:me:m hummale:</i>	spend two days with you but
<i>ʔabdallah yikallimna: yi ʔallim</i>	ʔAbdullah [unexpectedly] called us
<i>lina: b il-ʔilm</i>	and told us the news"

<i>ruHt ʔasallim ʔale:h ʔaHsib innah</i>	"I went to visit him thinking that
<i>miri:D hummale:h de:h bxe:r</i>	he is sick but [surprisingly] I
	found him well"

<i>ruHna: lah ʔla: mawʔidna:</i>	"we went according to our
<i>hummale: ma: hu: fi:h</i>	appointment [with him] but
	[unexpectedly] he was not there"

<i>..hummale: du:la: l-ʔwa:l</i>	".. and there were the children
<i>yurgubu:na:</i>	waiting for us"

4.5.1.6. *ha/ haw*

haw is used to recall something that the speaker should have mentioned earlier in his speech. It is often used in telling stories. It conjoins an event which should have been mentioned before a following event mentioned in the first clause. In addition,

what is mentioned in the second clause which introduced by *ha/haw* is not always expected. Consider the following examples:

<i>'ana: wiSilt 'arba'ah, haw hum</i>	"I arrived at four o'clock, and
<i>gid ga:lo: li: 'inn 'illi: yo:Sal</i>	they had told me [before] that
<i>mit'axxir la:zim yudxul min</i>	those who come late should enter
<i>il-ba:b il-xalfi:</i>	by the back door"

<i>huwwah Tu:l il-wagt yiHa:wil</i>	"he has been trying to convince me about
<i>yigni'ni: b fikratah haw ana: kunt</i>	his idea all the time, and I have
<i>'arfin e:sh hadafah</i>	always been aware of his goal"

4.5.1.7. *bass* and *la:kin*

bass and *la:kin* conjoin contrastive clauses. We should note that *bass* can also be used as an adverb in the meaning of "only". Watson describes this particle as a conjunct (cf. Watson 1993: 301-302). Cowell also considers it to be a conjunct (Cowell 1964: 397-398). Consider the following examples of the coordinators *bass* and *la:kin*:

<i>hiyyah ma: hi: Hilwah marrah</i>	"she is not very beautiful, but
<i>bass innaha: magbu:lah</i>	she is acceptable"

<i>huwwah ga:l innah mashghu:l</i>	"he said that he was busy, but he
<i>bass innah biHa:wil yiji:</i>	will try to come"

<i>huwwah gid sa:far la:kin</i>	"he has left, but I will call him by
<i>bakallimah b it-talifu:n</i>	phone"

<i>walla:h in 'a:dni: za'la:nah,</i>	"by God, I am still upset, but
<i>la:kin e:sh 'asawwi:?</i>	what can I do?"

4.5.2. Subordinators

Particles in this set precede independent clauses or sentences. These particles indicate time, place, manner, cause and reason, concession, and condition.

4.5.2.1. Time

Particles of time usually indicate the time of the action or the event. The following table shows these particles in brief:

Subordinator	Gloss
<i>‘awwalma:</i>	as soon as, lit. from the beginning
<i>gablma:</i>	before
<i>ba’dma:</i>	after
<i>sa:’atma:</i>	when, lit. the time (hour) of..
<i>wagtma:</i>	when, lit. in the time of ..
<i>Hazzatma:</i>	in the moment of..
<i>yo:m</i>	in the time, lit. in the day of ..
<i>minyo:m/ minyo:ma:</i>	since, when, lit from the day of..
<i>ile:n/ le:n/ ile:/ le:</i>	till

Table (4.3.)

4.5.2.1.a. *‘awwalma:*

‘awwalma: introduces an event or action and relates it to another event or action that happened at the same time or very shortly after. Consider the following examples:

<i>'awwalma: Talla^ʔ ruxSatah Sa:r lah Ha:diṭ</i>	“as soon as he got his license, he had an accident”
---	--

<i>'awwalma: 'aHtajtah Talabtah</i>	“as soon as I needed it, I ordered it”
-------------------------------------	---

4.5.2.1.b. *gablma:*

gablma: indicates an event or action that happened after the action in the main clause. Consider the following examples:

<i>xalli:na: mug^ʔud gablma: yiju:n</i>	“let’s sit before they come”
---	------------------------------

<i>ka:natt ma: ti^ʔrifah ze:n</i>	“she did not know him well
---	----------------------------

<i>gablma: tizawwajah</i>	before getting married to him”
---------------------------	--------------------------------

4.5.2.1.c. *ba^ʔdma:*

ba^ʔdma: indicates an event or action that happened before the action in the main clause. Consider the following examples:

<i>ba^ʔdma: astagarro: w arta:Haw, ga:lo: lhum la:zim tinglu:n</i>	“after they had settled down and rested, they told them to move”
--	---

<i>ba^ʔdma: wa:fagatt ^ʔale:h ^ʔayyatt</i>	“after she accepted him, she refused [later]”
--	--

4.5.2.1.d. *sa: ^ʔatma: , wagtma:, Hazzatma:, and yo:m*

All these particles are used in the same sense. They introduce a clause which indicates what happened immediately before the action that happened in the main

clause. Note that *Hazzatma:* is not common among younger speakers. Consider the following examples:

<i>sa:ʔatma: daxalo: ʔalayyah</i>	“when they came (lit. entered) to
<i>ʔaraft in fi:h Ha:jah HaSalatt</i>	me, I knew that something had
	happened”

<i>kunna: hna:k wagtma: waSlo:</i>	“we were there when they
	arrived”

<i>yo:m ra:H yishtiri: sayya:rah</i>	“when he went to purchase a car
<i>ma: lagi: il-lu:n ʔilli: yibgha:</i>	he did not find the colour he
	wanted”

<i>huwwah ma: Saddagha: yo:m</i>	“he did not believe her
<i>ga:latt lah</i>	when she told him”

<i>Ta:Hatt Hazzatma: samʔatt</i>	“she fell down in the moment she
<i>Hissah</i>	heard him”

4.5.2.1.e. *minyo:m/ minyo:ma:*

minyo:m/ minyo:mma: indicate an event or action that happened before or at the time of the action in the main clause. Consider the following examples:

<i>ma: gid za:rha: minyo:m jatt</i>	“he has not visited her
	since she came back”

<i>gid ʔaʔTa:h minyo:m ga:balah</i>	“he gave it to him when he
<i>da:k il-yo:m</i>	met him that day”

<i>walla:h innaha: marDat</i>	“by God, she became sick once
<i>minyo:mma: ʔarfatt b il-xabar</i>	she knew the news”

4.5.2.1.f. *le:/ le:n/ ile:/ ile:n*

le:/le:n/ile:/ile:n introduces a clause which concludes the event indicated in the main clause. Consider the following examples:

<i>taghadda: le:n shabʔ</i>	“he dined till he was full”
<i>dagge:t ile:n xadatt i:di:</i>	“I knocked till my hand became insensitive”
<i>ma: ʕiriftaha: le:n jarrabtaha:</i>	“I did not know it till I tried it”

4.5.2.2. Place

The following particles are subordinators which indicate place. Consider the following table:

Subordinators	Gloss
<i>mka:nma:</i>	where
<i>maHallma:</i>	where

Table (4.4.)

4.5.2.2.a. *maka:nma:* and *maHallma:*

These two particles introduce a clause which indicates the position or the place of the event in the main clause. Consider the following examples:

<i>Hin gaʔadna: maHallma: galo: lna:</i>	“we sat where they told us”
<i>ʔa:lah hna:k maka:nma: HaTTe:tah</i>	“it is there where you put it”
<i>ʔugʔud maHallma: tibgha:</i>	“stay wherever you want”

4.5.2.3. Manner

The particles in this set introduce clauses which indicate a comparison with the ideas in the main clause. Consider the following table:

Subordinator	Gloss
<i>mitilma:</i>	as
<i>zayyma:</i>	as
<i>ʕala:ma:</i>	as

Table (4.5.)

4.5.2.3.a. *mitilma:* and *zayyma:*

mitilma: and *zayyma:* are the most common, and they have similar meanings.

They can be used interchangeably in many contexts. Consider the following examples:

ʕana: sawwe:tah zayyma: gult “I did it as you said”

ʕabgha:k tʕa:ni: mitilma: ʕa:ne:t “I want you to suffer as I did”

4.5.2.3.b. *ʕala:ma:*

ʕala:ma: has the sense as *mitilma:* and *zayyma* but it is limited in use and tends to be used by old people only. Consider the following examples:

*mashatt il-ʕumu:r ʕala:ma: fi:
xa:Trah* “things have gone as in his heart
(i.e. as he hoped)”

*yibgha yimashshi:ha: ʕala:ma:
yibgha:* “he wants to control her to do as
he wishes”

4.5.2.4. Concession

Particles in this set usually introduce clauses which contrast with the ideas in the main clause. Consider the following table:

Subordinator	Gloss
<i>maʿa: ʿin(n)</i>	although/ even though
<i>birraghem min in(n)</i>	although/ in spite of
<i>maʿa: ɗa:lik / maʿa: ki ɗah</i>	however
<i>fo:g in(n)/ fo:g haɗa:/ minswa: in(n)</i>	moreover/ over that/ although
<i>bass/ la:kin/ ghe:r/ illan(n)</i>	but

Table (4.6.)

4.5.2.4.a. *maʿa: in(n)*, *birraghem min in(n)*, and *maʿa ɗa:lik*

maʿa: in(n), *birraghem min in(n)*, and *maʿa ɗa:lik* are derived from classical Arabic without major changes. They are used mostly by educated younger people in formal speech. They carry the sense of contradiction. Consider the following examples:

ma: gid xalaSaw l-awra:g “they have not finished the papers even
maʿa: inn aha:jathum min badri: though they received them earlier”

maʿa: inn i: ma: ʿaraftah ze:n “although I do not know him
illa: inni ʿaHiss innah Tayyib well, I feel that he is kind”

biraghem min inn il-kutub “although the books are a new
Tabʿah jadi:dah illa: inn edition, the curriculum is the
il-manhaj nafsah same”

ʿiHna: il-mafru:D ma: nistagbil “we are not supposed to accept

<i>ha:di: il-Ha:la:t w maʔa ɗa:lik</i>	these cases, however, many of
<i>yiji:na: kaɗi:r minha:</i>	them came to us”

4.5.2.4.b. *fu:g in(n)/ fu:g haɗa:*, and *minswa: in(n)*

fo:g in(n)/ fo:g ha:ɗa:, and *minswa: in(n)* are common particles and people use them in many contexts. Consider the following examples:

<i>sa:kin maʔi: bala:sh w fo:g</i>	“although he is living with me for
<i>ha:ɗa: yitsharraT</i>	nothing (without sharing the
	rent), he is making the rules”

<i>minswa: innah miri:D za:d</i>	“although he was sick they made
<i>ʔamraDu:h</i>	him more sick”

4.5.2.4.c. *bass*, *la:kin*, *ghe:r in(n)*, and *illan(n)*

bass, *la:kin*, *ghe:r in(n)* and *illan(n)* are commonly used in the sense of “but”. We should note that *bass* and *la:kin* can coordinate too (cf. *bass* and *la:kin* in 4.5.1.7). *ghe:rin(n)* and *illan(n)* are less common and are used only by old people in this dialect.

Consider the following examples:

<i>tamanne:t inni: ʔaxalliS il-ja:mʔah</i>	“I wish that I had finished college,
<i>bass iD-Duru:f ma: sa:ʔadat</i>	but circumstances did not help”

<i>ʔashshart lah ghe:rinnah ma:</i>	“I waved to him but he did not
<i>sha:fni:</i>	see me”

<i>ʔana: ma: ka:n baɗɗullah illannah</i>	“I would not let him down, but he
<i>ma: ʔallam li:</i>	did not tell me”

4.5.2.5. Cause and Reason

The particles of cause and reason introduce clauses that provide the purpose of, or the reason for the actions or the events indicated in the main clause. The following table shows these particle.

Subordinators	Gloss
<i>ʔalasha:n/ ʔalasha:nin(n)</i>	for, in order to, because
<i>ʔala:Si:r/ ʔala:Si:rin(n)</i>	for, in order to, because
<i>bsabab, bsibb/ bsibbat, ʔala:sibb/ ʔalasibbat, fi:sibb/ fi:sibbat</i>	because of
<i>li'an(n)/ lin(n)/ lan(n)</i>	because
<i>Hatta:</i>	thus, so

Table (4.7.)

4.5.2.5.a. *ʔalasha:n/ ʔalasha:nin(n)* and *ʔala:Si:r/ ʔala:Si:rn(n)*

ʔalasha:n/ ʔalasha:nin(n) is the most common particle from this set. It can be used in all cause and reason contexts. It is used by older and younger people alike. *ʔala:Si:r/ ʔala:Si:rin(n)* is the least common. It is used in the sense of “in order to” by old people only. Consider the following examples:

ana: zurtaha: ʔalasha:n innaha: mari:Dah “I visited her because she was sick”

ʔana: ma: sawe:tah illa: ʔala:Si:rik “I only did it for you”

e:sh tibgha:ni: ʔasawwi:? askut lik ʔala:Si:r innik waladi:? “what do you want me to do keep quiet because you are my son?”

4.5.2.5.b. *bsabab*, *bsib/bsibbat*, *ʔala:sib/ʔalasibbat*, and *fi:sib/fi:sibbat*

bsabab, *bsib/bsibbat*, *ʔala:sib/ʔalasibbat*, and *fi:sib/fi:sibbat* look like different particles, but they have the same sense. They are derived from the classical stem noun *sabab* plus the preposition *b*, *ʔala:*, or *fi:*. The stem particle ranges between *sabab*, *sibb*, and *sibb* + the feminine suffix *at*. Of these particles, *bsabab* is the form which is used mainly by younger educated people, whereas the other particles are used mostly by older people.

bsibbat da l-ku:rah ma sha:f xe:r “because of this football, he did
not do well [in his daily life]”

il-jaww Ha:rr bsabab gurb “the weather is hot because
ish-shams li l-arD the sun is near to the earth”

4.5.2.5.c. *lan(n)/lin(n)* and *li'an(n)*

lan(n) is used by older people, whereas *li'an(n)* and *lin(n)* are used by younger educated people. Consider the following examples:

ʔana: ma: ʔagdar ʔaSaddigk “I cannot believe you because you
lannikdayman kada:b are always a liar”

ma: nigdar nwaDDifah li'ann ma: “we cannot give him a job
ʔindah xibrah ka:fiyah because he does not have enough
qualifications”

4.5.2.5.d. *Hatta*

Hatta: in Abha Arabic indicates cause in different ways to the other particles. Here, the subordinating clause is not the reason for the action in the main clause; on

the contrary, the main clause is the reason for the action in the subordinating clause.

Consider the following examples:

<i>walla:h inni: kunt taʕba:nah</i>	“by God, I was so sick that I
<i>Hatta: inni: ma: gadart</i>	could not meet them at the
<i>ʕastagbilhum fi l-maTa:r</i>	airport”
<i>ka:n zaʕla:n Hatta: annah ma:</i>	“he was so upset that he did not
<i>ʕazamna: yo:m ʕurs waladah</i>	invite us to his son’s wedding”

Hatta: can also have the sense of reason with condition. Consider the following examples:

<i>ʕjlis muʕaddab Hatta: anni: ma:</i>	“stay polite so that I do
<i>ʕazʕal minnik</i>	not become upset with you”
<i>kul ze:n Hatta: innik ma: tju:ʕ</i>	“eat well, then you would not be
<i>bsurʕah</i>	hungry quickly”

Hatta: also has the sense of “and”, “too” or “even” and can be considered as a coordinator or adverb in this case. Consider the following examples:

<i>ga:baltuhum kulluhum Hatta:</i>	“I met them all including their big
<i>ʕxu:hum il-kibi:r</i>	brother”
<i>ma: tiʕrif Hatta: tuslug be:Dah</i>	“she does not even know how to
	boil an egg “

4.5.2.6. Conditional Particles

The conditional sentence consists of a subordinate (conditional) clause and a main clause. The subordinate clause is the conditional clause introduced by a

conditional particle. The conditional clause which is known as the *protasis* usually occurs to the left of the main clause which is known as the *apodosis* (Haywood and Nahmad 1965: 290, Watson 1993: 362). In Abha Arabic, the conditional clause can express real, unreal or universal conditions. Real condition leaves unresolved the question of the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of the condition, and the truth of the proposition expressed by the main clause. Unreal condition, on the other hand, conveys the sense that the condition has not or cannot be fulfilled. Universal condition usually indicates a free choice from a number of conditions (Quirk & Greenbaum 1973: 324-326). The following list shows the conditionals that are used in Abha Arabic in general.

ida:, *inn*, *law*, *lo:la:*, *lo:ma:*, *la:/le:*, *lama:*, *mata:/mata:ma:*, and *e:nma:/fe:nma:*.

ida: and *inn* introduce real condition. *law* can introduce real or unreal condition as explained below. *lo:la:* and *lo:ma:* introduce unreal condition. *la:/le:*, *lama:*, *mata:/mata:ma:*, and *e:nma:/fe:nma:* introduce universal condition.

4.5.2.6.a. *ida:*

ida: is the most common conditional particle used among people in general. It introduces a real condition. It can occur before a verb, noun or pronoun. The main clause may be introduced by *f/fa*.

ida: precedes verbs:

ida: can precede *b* plus an imperfect verb to denote the future. The verb of the main clause is in the imperative. Consider the following examples:

ida: btiji: f tiSil bna:

“If you are coming, call us”

ida: btishtiri:h ishtirah da l-Hi:n

“if you are going to buy it, buy it now”

ida: btilʿab f tjahhaz

“if you are going to play, get ready”

ida: can also precede a perfect verb to denote the future. The verb of the main clause is in the imperative. Consider the following examples:

ida: kallamtah f gullah yittiSil bi:

“when you call him, tell him to call me”

*ida: rajaʿt mil-madrasah badri:
f intiDirni:*

“if you come back from school early, wait for me”

*ida: ma: ligi:t il-mifta:H taHt
il-furshah f bitla:gi:h fo:g il-ba:b*

“if you do not find the key under the carpet, you will find it above the door”

ida: can, in a few cases, precede a perfect verb and the verb in the main clause can be in the imperfect aspect. Consider the following examples:

ida: fa:t il-fo:t ma: yinfaʿ iS-So:t

“lit. if something has happened, calling out would not help (i.e. if something has already happened, it would be too late to take any action)”

ida: ka:n rajja:l yiji:ni: ykallimni:

“if he is [truly] a man, he will come to me and talk”.

ida: precedes nouns and pronouns:

ida: can precede a noun or a free pronoun and in this case it can denote either the future or the present. The main clause may be a verbal clause with an imperative verb or nominal clause. Consider the following examples:

<i>ida: s-sawwa:g bi:murrukum f murru:na:</i>	“if the driver is going to come by you, take us with you”
<i>ida: ant titʔab bsurʔah f la: tsawwi:h</i>	“if you get tired quickly, do not do it”
<i>ida: ʔabu:yah ʔindukum f xalli:h yiji:</i>	“if my father is there with you, let him come”
<i>ida: ant sha:Tir f xalliSah</i>	“if you are a good [boy], finish it up”
<i>ida: hi: tiHibb il-Hala: f Saʔab innaha: txaffif</i>	“if she like sweet things, it will be difficult for her to lose [weight]”

4.5.2.6.b. *inn*

inn introduces a real condition. It usually precedes *ka:n* plus a noun or a bound pronoun. The verb in the main clause is in the imperative and is introduced by the conjoin *f/fa*. Consider the following examples:

<i>inn ka:nik btitHammal il-masʔu:liyyah f tazawwaj</i>	“if you are going to be responsible, then get married”
<i>inn ka:nish Sa:dgah f sawwi:ha:</i>	“if you are serious, do it”
<i>inn ka:nhum byirjuʔu:n badri:</i>	“if they are going to come early,

f xallu:na: nitga:bal il-li:lah let us meet tonight”

inn ka:n ʕali: ʕindukum f xalli:h “if Ali is there with you, let him
yiji: come”

inn can occasionally precede a perfect verb. Consider the following examples:

inn baghe:tu: fru:Hu: “if you want to, go”

inn kasartah f ya:we:lik “if you break it, curse will be
upon on you”

4.5.2.6.c. *law*

law is mainly used to introduce unreal condition. However, it can also introduce real condition. In real condition, *law* can precede an imperfect verb. In this case, the main clause takes a perfect verb or an adjective. The main clause provides the result of the conditional clause. Consider the following examples:

law tit 'axxar marrah tanyah “if you come late again, I will fire
faSaltik you”

law tudrusi:n 'aHSan “if you study, it will be better”

In some contexts, the consequence of the conditional clause is unexpected or surprising. Consider the following examples:

law tSi:H b 'aʕla: So:tik ma: “even if you call noisily (loudly),
sam ʕu:k they will not hear”

law tuThub ʕe:ni: 'aʕTi:k “even if you ask for my eye, I
will give [it] to you”

<i>law tusrug ma: fi l-be:t ma:</i> <i>Haddin dara bik</i>	“if you steal all that is in the house, nobody will know”
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In unreal condition *law* often occurs before *inn* plus a noun or bound pronoun. In this case, the verb in the main clause is in the perfect aspect. The main clause is usually introduced by *ka:n*. Consider the following examples:

<i>law innik Sa:dig ka:n ma: ruHt</i>	“if you were really telling the truth, you would not have gone”
<i>law innuhum jaw badri: ka:n</i> <i>laHgaw</i>	“if they had come early, they would have caught them”
<i>law in shiri:fah tibghaha: ka:n</i> <i>‘axadatha:</i>	“if Shireefah had really wanted it, she would have taken it”

4.5.2.6.d. *lo:ma:* and *lo:la:*

lo:ma: and *lo:la:* introduce unreal condition. They precede nouns or verbal nouns. The main clause is always introduced by *ka:n* followed by a perfect verb. Consider the following examples:

<i>lo:ma: xo:fi: min rabbi: ka:n</i> <i>Darabtik</i>	“if I were not aware of my God, I would hit you”
<i>lo:ma: saHa:y min ‘abu:k ka:n</i> <i>ma: ji:t</i>	“if I did not care about your father, I would not have come”
<i>lo:ma: ‘abdallah ga:balna:</i> <i>fi T-Tari:g ka:n ma: ‘irifna:</i> <i>il-be:t</i>	“if we had not met Abdullah on the road, we would not have known the house”

<i>lo:ma: 'axu:ha wadda:ha: ka:n</i>	"if her brother had not taken her
<i>fa:tha: l-imtiHa:n</i>	[at the time] she would have
	missed the exam"

<i>lo:la: innik ʔazi:z w gha:li: ka:n</i>	"if you were not dear to me, I
<i>ma: gult lik</i>	would not have told you"

4.5.2.6.e. *lama:*, *la:/ le:*, *mata:/ matama:* and *e:nma:/fe:nma:*.

lama:, *la:/ le:* and *mata:/ matama:* have the sense of time. They introduce a universal condition in the meaning of "whenever". They can precede perfect verbs or *gid* followed by a noun or pronoun plus *b* + imperfect verb. The verb in the main clause can be either in the imperative or a perfect verb. *la: /le:* is often used in short sentences. Both *lama:* and *la:/ le:* are mostly used by older people, but *mata:* is common among younger speakers. Consider the following examples:

<i>lama: ja:na: Di:f 'aflaHat</i>	"whenever a guest comes, she leaves"
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<i>lama: ja:na: Hadd ga:maw</i>	"whenever somebody comes, they begin
<i>kannuhum shaya:Ti:n</i>	to act as devils"

<i>lama: gidkum btiju:n 'itaSlo:</i>	"when you are coming, call us"
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<i>mata: za:n f guli: li:</i>	"when it is ready, tell me"
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<i>mata:ma: baghe:ti: f taʔa:li:</i>	"whenever you want [to come], come"
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<i>la: baghe:t f iTlaʔ</i>	"whenever you want, go upstairs"
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In some contexts, *la:/le:* introduces a real condition. Consider the following examples:

<i>la: nijiHt f tawaDDaf</i>	"when you pass, get a job"
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la: xalaSt f taʕa:l “when you finish, come”

le: gaʕad xarb “if it is left, it will be spoiled”

le: wiSilt f kallim “when you arrive, call [me/us]”

e:nma: and *fe:nma:* are used to indicate place in the sense of “wherever”. They precede a perfect or imperfect verb. The verb in the main clause may be in the imperative or an imperfect verb. Consider the following examples:

fe:nma: yʕashshir ʕashshir “wherever he points, point”

e:nma: baghe:t tugʕud f ugʕud “wherever you want to sit, sit”

e:nma tru:H ʕaru:H maʕak “wherever you go, I will go with you”

4.6. Prepositions

The Arab grammarians call prepositions *Huru:f al-jarr* or *Huru:f al-xafD* which means that they affect the final case *Ha:lat al-ʕiʕra:b* of the following noun and make it end in *i* in singular, *ayn* in dual and *i:n* in plural. Prepositions are also known as *Huru:f al-ʕiDa:fah* which means literally “the particles of addition” because they can add the meaning of the verbs before them to the nouns after them (Ibnu-Yaʕi:sh (n.d.): VIII 7). The following table shows the prepositions in Abha Arabic:

Prepositions	Gloss
<i>fi/fi:</i>	in, inside
<i>ʕala:</i>	on, over

<i>min</i>	from
<i>ʔan</i>	about
<i>maʔa:</i>	with
<i>ila:/ le:n/ le:/ l</i>	to
<i>me:d</i>	to
<i>minSi:r</i>	to, about
<i>b</i>	with
<i>il/ l</i>	for

Table (4.8.)

Prepositions can precede nouns, bound object pronouns, demonstratives and circumstants. Consider the following examples:

<i>gaʔadat Salwa: fi l-be:t</i>	“Salwa stayed at home
<i>ila: s-sa: ʔah xamsah</i>	till five o’clock”
<i>sa’alu: ʔannish il-ji:ra:n</i>	“the neighbours asked about you”
<i>sa:faru: b is-sayya:rah</i>	“they travelled by car”
<i>ruHt lah w-ma: ligi:tah</i>	“I went to him and I did not find it”
<i>‘inti: gulti: me:d ʔali: shay?</i>	“did you say anything to Ali”
<i>ishu: minSi:rah iz-zaʔal de:h</i>	“what is all this anger about?”
<i>kullah?</i>	
<i>‘inzil min fo:g it-tandah</i>	“get down from the sun roof”

As seen above, prepositions can take bound pronoun suffixes. Some prepositions inflect when attached to bound pronouns. Consider the following table for these prepositions when attached to bound pronouns:

Preposition	1.s./pl.	2.m.s./pl.	2.f.s/pl.	3.m.s./pl.	3.f.s./pl.
<i>ʕi/ʕi:</i>	<i>ʕiyyah/ ʕi:na:</i>	<i>ʕi:k/ ʕi:kum</i>	<i>ʕi:sh/ ʕi:kum</i>	<i>ʕi:h/ ʕi:hum</i>	<i>ʕi:ha:/ ʕi:hum</i>
<i>ʕala:</i>	<i>ʕalayyah/ ʕale:na:</i>	<i>ʕale:k/ ʕale:kum</i>	<i>ʕale:sh/ ʕale:kum</i>	<i>ʕale:h/ ʕale:hum</i>	<i>ʕale:ha:/ ʕale:hum</i>
<i>min</i>	<i>minni:/ minna:</i>	<i>minnik/ minkum</i>	<i>minnish/ minkum</i>	<i>minnah/ minhum</i>	<i>minha:/ minhum</i>
<i>ʕan</i>	<i>ʕanni:/ ʕanna:</i>	<i>ʕannik/ ʕannkum</i>	<i>ʕannish/ ʕannkun</i>	<i>ʕannah/ ʕannhum</i>	<i>ʕanha:/ ʕannhum</i>
<i>maʕa:</i>	<i>maʕi:/ maʕna:</i>	<i>maʕak/ maʕkum</i>	<i>maʕash/ maʕkum</i>	<i>maʕah/ maʕhum</i>	<i>maʕha:/ maʕhum</i>
<i>me:d</i>	<i>me:di:/ me:dna:</i>	<i>me:dik/ me:dkum</i>	<i>me:dish/ me:dkum</i>	<i>me:dah/ me:dhum</i>	<i>me:dha:/ me:dhum</i>
<i>minSi:r</i>	<i>minSi:ri:/ minSi:rna:</i>	<i>minSi:rik/ minSi:rkum</i>	<i>minSi:rish/ minSi:rkum</i>	<i>minSi:rah/ minSi:rhum</i>	<i>minSi:rha:/ minSi:rhum</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>bi:/ bina:</i>	<i>bik/ bukum</i>	<i>bish/ bukum</i>	<i>bah/ buhum</i>	<i>baha:/ buhum</i>
<i>i/l</i>	<i>liyyah/ lina:</i>	<i>lik/ lukum</i>	<i>lish/ lukum</i>	<i>lah/ luhum</i>	<i>laha:/ luhum</i>

Table (4.9.)

b and *maʕa:* sometimes inflect when they take the first singular pronoun to be *biyyah* and *maʕa:yah*. *ila:/ le:n/le:l* do not usually attach to bound pronouns.

In Abha Arabic, these prepositions can function in the sentence in one of two ways: firstly, when they constitute an important part of the sentence, secondly, when they do not constitute an important part of the sentence. This division is not always fixed, some prepositions can be of either group depending on the context.

The prepositions in the first group are important in the sentence because they function as linkages between the governors and the nouns which follow the prepositions. The prepositions of the first group are known in classical Arabic as *al-Huru:f al-'aSliyyah* which means that they are parts of the sentence and are important to complete the meaning of the sentence. Without these prepositions, the governors cannot be linked to the following nouns. Consider the following examples:

xarajt min il-be:t

“I got out of the house”

gaʔadaw ʔind ʔxu:ha:

“they stayed with her brother”

In the above examples, without the prepositions *min* and *ʔind*, the intransitive verbs *xaraj* and *gaʔadaw* would not be linked to the nouns *il-be:t* and *ʔxu:ha:*.

The prepositions in the second group are not an essential part of the sentence and their omission will not change the meaning of the sentence. These prepositions usually emphasise the meaning of the sentence. The prepositions in the second group do not necessarily need governors. In classical Arabic, these prepositions are called *al-Huru:f az-za:ʔidah* “the extra letters” which means that they are not important parts of the sentence. Consider the following examples:

ma: nafʔ la: l ummi: wala:

“lit. it did not help for my mother or

l abu:yah

for my father”

The preposition *l* in the above example can be omitted without violating the meaning of the sentence, as:

<i>ma: nafʔ ʕummi: wala: ʕabu:yah</i>	“lit. it did not help my mother nor my father”
---------------------------------------	--

Another example:

<i>il-Hall ma:hu: b D-Darb</i>	“the solution is not through hitting”
--------------------------------	---------------------------------------

The preposition *b* can be omitted without affecting the meaning of the sentence as in:

<i>il-Hall ma:hu iD-Darb</i>	“the solution is not through hitting”
------------------------------	---------------------------------------

4.6.1. The governor of preposition

The important point between the two groups is the governor. The prepositions in the first group which function as linkages always need a governor in the sentence. This governor can be a verb, verbal noun or verbal derivative. The governor usually needs the preposition to link it to the noun. The governor does not necessarily occur next to the preposition, it can occur anywhere in the sentence. It can precede or follow the preposition. Consider the following examples:

<i>taxarraḡ min il-ja:mʕah</i>	“he graduated from university”
--------------------------------	--------------------------------

<i>fi:h mxa:Samah ga:y_{matin}</i>	“there is a fight happening at home”
<i>fi l-be:t</i>	

<i>huwwah mna:wib fi l-mustashfa</i>	“he has a night shift in the hospital”
--------------------------------------	--

<i>ha:da: msa:wim ʕala: flu:s</i>	“this [man] is bargaining with other
<i>in-na:s</i>	people’s money”

<i>magTu:ʔ min shajarah</i>	“he has no relatives”, “lit. he is cut off from a tree”
-----------------------------	---

ma: ghe:r illa: giTa:ʕin fi: Duhu:r “just gossiping about people”

in-na:s

The governor does not only occur in verbal sentences. Ibnu-Yaʕi:sh argues that even if the sentence is nominal, a preposition should have a governor. This governor is implicit rather than explicit and would be a verb with the sense of “existing”, “found”, “setting”, etc. (cf. Ibnu-Yaʕi:sh (n.d.): VIII 9, Hasan 1973: II 442). Consider the following examples:

xa:lid fi l-be:t

“Khalid is at home”

can be interpreted as:

xa:lid mawju:d fi l-be:t

gidhum fi s-sayya:rah

“they are in the car [now]”

can be interpreted as:

gidhu gaʕdi:n (mawju:di:n) fi s-sayya:rah

il-masʕu:liyyah kullaha: ʕale:k

“lit. all the responsibility is on you”

can be interpreted as:

il-masʕu:liyyah kullaha: taku:n ʕale:k

Sometimes one governor can take two prepositions in the sentence. These two prepositions should have distinct meanings in the sentence (Hasan 1973: II 444).

Consider the following examples:

waggaft lik ʕind il-ʕisha:rah

“I waited for you at the traffic lights”

ʕashshart fi l-kita:b b l-ʕaHmar

“I made a note in the book in red”

e:sh sawwo: bik fi l-mustashfa:ʔ

“what did they do for you in hospital?”

e:sh Sa:r lik ma'a 'ali:?

“what happened to you with Ali?”

ma: lah daxal fiyyah

“he has no business with me”

In some contexts, two prepositions can have different governors, one is explicit and the other is implicit, as the following examples:

'axtala' min manDarin

“he was frightened by something he saw

fi t-tilifizyu:n

on the television”

The governor of the preposition *min* is the verb *'axtala'*, whereas, the governor of the preposition *fi* is implicit and it would mean “appeared” as in:

'axtala' min manDarin

“he was frightened by something which

Tala' fi t-tilifizyu:n

appeared on the television”

It is not possible for the preposition *fi* to refer to the verbal governor *'axtala'* because this would violate the meaning of the sentence as:

'axtala' min manDarin

**'axtala' fi t-tilifizyu:n*

Consider the following example too:

xablatt fi: tanmu:rah 'ind

“she was crazy about a

il-'Abba:di:

skirt at il-Aba:di: [shop]”

The governor of the preposition *fi:* is *xablat*, whereas, the governor of *'ind* is implicit and has the sense of “existing”. If *'ind* referred to the verb *xablat*, this would mean that she was crazy at the shop, which is not the right meaning.

In some negative and question sentences, two prepositional phrases may refer to a single implicit governor. Consider the following examples:

<i>lis ʔala yyah minnah</i>	“I do not care about him”
<i>ma: ʔind i: lik shay</i>	“I do not have anything for you”
<i>e:sh li: fi:h?</i>	“what is [my business] with him?”
<i>ish maʔhum fi:ha:?</i>	“what do they mean by it?”

4.7. Response particles

There are several response particles which are used in Abha Arabic. The following table shows these particles:

Response Particles	Gloss
<i>naʔam</i>	“yes”, normally in response to a call
<i>ha:h</i>	“yes”, response to a call
<i>labbe:h</i>	“yes”, polite response to a call
<i>ʔaywah</i>	“yes”, response to a call
<i>ʔi:wah</i>	“yes”, response to a question
<i>ʔi:h</i>	“yes”, response to a question
<i>tamm</i>	“O.K”, response to a request
<i>Tayyi:b</i>	“O.K”, a response to a request
<i>illa:</i>	in response to a negative question, comparable to French <i>si</i> or German <i>doch</i>
<i>la:</i>	“no”

Table (4.10.)

4.7.1. *naʕam*, *ha:h*, *labbe:h*, and *ʕaywah*

naʕam, *ha:h*, *labbe:h*, and *ʕaywah* are usually used in response to calls. *naʕam* is derived from classical Arabic. It is used more formally than the other responses. *ha:h*, in contrast, is used in informal situations. *ha:h* is not a polite way to respond. *ha:h* has different ways of functioning (cf. 4.4.). *labbe:h* is used to respond to the father, mother or an old close person. It reflects politeness, respect and love. Wives sometimes use it to respond to their husbands. It is derived from the classical word *labayyik* “here I am at your service”. *ʕaywah* seems to be the modified form of *i:wah* which is used to answer a yes/no question. It can be considered to be derived from other dialects such as Hija:zi, Egyptian or Syrian Arabic. It is not used as widely by older people as it is by younger people. It is often used when answering the phone. Consider the following examples, note that Q is a question and A is an answer:

Q- <i>ʕali:</i>	“Ali, (a call)”
A- <i>ʕaywah/ naʕam</i>	“yes”

4.7.2. *i:wah* and *i:h*

i:wah and *i:h* are used to answer a yes/no question. They mean “yes”. *i:h* is the informal form of *i:wah*. *i:h* often reflects boredom and carelessness.

Q- <i>ruHt il-madrasah <u>da</u> l-yo:m?</i>	“did you go to school today?”
A- <i>i:wah.</i>	“yes”

Q- <i>ha:h xala:S?</i>	“is that it?”
A- <i>i:h</i>	“yes (with boredom)”

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4.8. Negative Particles

There are four negative particles which are used in Abha. These particles differ according to their geographical origins. These particles are as follows: *ma:*, *lis*, *lim* and *la:*. All of these particles are used to denote negation, however *la:* can be used for negative command too.

4.8.1. *ma:*

ma: is a negative particle which means “not”. It can be used before a verb, noun, pronoun, or preposition. It is used commonly by the people in Abha in general.

Consider the following examples:

<i>ma: 'aʕrifah</i>	“I do not know him”
<i>ma: l-ghurfak lik lHa:lik</i>	“the room is not for you alone”
<i>ma: hu: byugʕud</i>	“he will not stay”
<i>ma: ʕale:h ghaTa:</i>	“there is no cover on it”

4.8.2. *la:*

la: is a negative particle which is used to negate a noun or pronoun. Consider the following examples:

<i>ma: shuft la: ʕali: w la: 'Ahmad</i>	“I have seen neither Ali nor Ahmad”
<i>utrukah, la:hu: 'illi: bisa: ʕidna: wala: shay</i>	“leave him, he is not (the one who is) going to help us or anything”

la: ant minna: wa la: Hin minnik “lit. you are not from us and we are not from you”

la: can be also used before a verb for negative command. Consider the following examples:

la: ta:xuḍi:nah “do not take it!”

la: tugʿud ʿindik “do not sit over there!”

4.8.3. *lim*

lim is a negative particle which is used by people who are originally from ʿAsi:r and the Tiha:mah. *lim* may be considered as derived from the classical *lam*. *lim* precedes the imperfect verb only but, as with *lam* in classical Arabic, it always indicates past tense. Consider the following examples:

lim adri: bah “I did not know about him”

lim yru:H shughlah min ʿisbu:ʿ “he has not gone to his work for a week”

lim ʿagu:l lah “I did not tell him”

4.8.4. *lis*

lis may be considered as derived from the classical *laysa*. It is used commonly among people who are originally from the Tiha:mah and ʿAsi:r in particular. This particle has many variants in the region of the Tiha:mah and al-Hija:z mountains. It

came to Abha with one variant but with different usages¹. *lis* is mainly used before a noun or pronoun. Consider the following examples:

lis xa:lid hinah

“Khalid is not here”

lis hi: btiji:

“she will not come”

lis antu: taʕrifu:nah

“you do not know him”

lis is used by some people before an imperfect verb to indicate negative future. Consider the following examples:

lis yiswi:h

“he will not fix it”

lis tigdar lah

“she will not be able to stand him”

lis and *ma:* function in the same way as the classical negator *lan*. *lan* in classical Arabic precedes the imperfect verb and denotes negative future. *lan* is not used in Abha Arabic, however *lis* and *ma:* plus bound pronoun suffix are used before an imperfect verb preceded by *b* to denote the negative future (cf. 3.2.2.). For example:

In classical Arabic

lan ʕusa:fira l-yawm

“I am not going to travel today”

In Abha Arabic

lisni: bsa:fir da l-yo:m

“I am not going to travel today”

¹ There are some old people use some forms of *lis* which are not common in Abha as:

listuwa adri:

“I do not know”

laysu yadri:

“he does not know”

laysatu tadri:

“she does not know”

Although *lis* may be derived from the classical *laysa*, it is different from the classical one. In classical Arabic, *laysa* is considered to be a verb by some grammarians because it takes bound subject pronouns whereas, *lis*, according to the questionnaire that was conducted (cf. 1.7., Appendix 1.), takes bound object pronouns or free subject pronouns. Bound object pronouns are always attached to nouns to indicate the object or the possessor (cf. 5.1.1.2.b.). Free subject pronouns, on the other hand, do not usually attach to other parts of speech. They often occur in the beginning of the nominal sentence as a predicand (cf. 5.1.1.1.). The use of *lis* either with free subject pronouns or bound object pronouns originates in the ʿAsi:r and the Tiha:mah. The following table shows the forms of *lis* with free subject pronouns and bound object pronouns in comparison with *lis* in classical Arabic (Note *h* in *hi*, *hu:*, is not pronounced by some people; where *h* is not pronounced the *s* of *lis* is doubled.):

Classical Arabic	Abha Arabic	
<i>lis</i> +bound subject pronoun	<i>lis</i> +free subject pronoun	<i>lis</i> +bound object pronoun
1.s. <i>lastu</i>	<i>lis ana:</i>	<i>lisni:</i>
1.p. <i>lasna:</i>	<i>lis Hin</i>	<i>lisna:</i>
2.m.s. <i>lasta</i>	<i>lis ¹ant/ int</i>	<i>lisik</i>
2.m.p. <i>lastum</i>	<i>lis antu:/ antum/ intu:</i>	<i>liskum</i>
2.f.s <i>lasti</i>	<i>lis anti:/ inti:</i>	<i>lisish</i>
2.f.p. <i>lastum</i>	<i>lis antu:/ antum/intu:</i>	<i>liskum</i>

¹ Free pronouns beginning with *a* or *i* do not have the glottal stop when occurring after *lis* as usual.

3.f.s <i>laysat</i>	<i>lis hi:/ lissi:</i>	<i>lisha:</i>
3.f.p. <i>lasna</i>	<i>lis hum</i>	<i>lissum</i>
3.m.s. <i>laysa</i>	<i>lishu:/ lissu:</i>	<i>lisah</i>
3.m.p. <i>laysu:</i>	<i>lis hum</i>	<i>lissum</i>

Table (4.11)

4.9. The articles

There are two definite articles used in Abha Arabic. These articles are: *il/ l* and *im*.

4.9.1. *il/ l*

il/ l has the classical reference which is *al*. It is used by all people in the speech community. With words beginning with the coronal consonants *d, ḍ, r, z, sh, s, S, D, T*, and *n*, the article *il/ l* is not pronounced. It is replaced by *i* plus the initial consonant of the following word. These consonants are called as *al-Huru:f ash-shamsiyyah* “the sun letters” by the Arab grammarians. The other consonants which do not affect the pronunciation of *il/ l* are called *al-Huru:f al-qamariyyah* “the moon letters”. Consider the following examples:

‘ana: ‘illi: Sakke:t il-ba:b

“I am the one who closed the door”

ʕindana: il-ji:ra:n

“the neighbours are here with us”

sha:fo: il-be:t wa ʕabhum

“they saw the house and they liked it”

ish-shams btiHrigk

“the sun will burn you”

<i>ha:di: is-sayya:rah walla:</i>	“this is the car and nothing else”
<i>bala:sh</i>	

<i>ir-ruz xallaS</i>	“the rice is finished”
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<i>ha:di: id-dinya:</i>	“this is the life”
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4.9.2. *im*

im, on the other hand, originates from the Tiha:mah. It is used by old people who are originally from the Tiha:mah. It is always pronounced as *im* whether before sun or moon consonants. Consider the articles in the following examples:

<i>shift im-walad da: ka:n maʔak</i>	“I saw the boy who was with you”
--------------------------------------	----------------------------------

<i>im-su:g giri:bin walla: biʔi:d?</i>	“is the market near or far?”
--	------------------------------

im seems to be old and to have been known in this area for a long time. It was mentioned in a saying from the Prophet Mohammed when a group of people came to him from the Tiha:mah asking him to give them a lesson in his new religion. He uttered a saying using *im* as the article to help them to understand his lesson. This saying is:

<i>laysa: mina m-birri im-Sya:m fi</i>	“it is not of charity to fast during
<i>im-safar</i>	travel”

This saying with the *al* article would be:

laysa mina l-birri S-Siya:mu f is-safar

For more details see Ibnu-Yaʔi:sh ((n.d.): I 24).

4.10. The vocative particles

There are two vocative particles in Abha Arabic. These particles are *ya:*, and *wa/wu*. *ya:* is the common form whereas *wa/wu* is rarely used. *wa/wu* came from GaHTa:n and different areas and is used by old people only. *ya:* is used to call a person from a near or far distance, whereas *wa/wu* is used to call a person who is not around or to call while knocking the door. Usually, vocative particles can be omitted if calling a person who is close by. Consider the following examples:

ya: ʕali:

“Ali!”, a call

ya: walad

“lit. boy!”, (people used to use this word to call somebody whose name they do not know)”

wu mHammad

“Mohammed!”, a call.

Vocative particles always precede nouns without the definite article. *ya:* may precede a demonstrative if it is itself preceded by a free pronoun. Consider the following examples:

ʕintu: ya: du:la:k

“lit., you, those [people!]”, “you, over there”

ʕinti: ya: te:h

“lit., you, this girl!”

4.11. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the many particles in Abha Arabic. Particles do not have complete meanings in themselves but they supplement or alter the meaning of other parts of speech. They usually require verbs, nouns, or another part of speech to have

syntactic function in the sentence. Particles in Abha Arabic occur in the sentence to introduce, relate, negate, coordinate or respond. Each particle has its own distinctive morphological features and syntactic function. The particles which were discussed in this chapter are *gid* (cf. 4.1.), *ha:l* and its sociological variants (cf. 4.2.), *fi:h* and *ba/bah* (cf. 4.3.), *ha:h* (cf. 4.4.), conjunctions (cf. 4.5.), prepositions (cf. 4.6.), response particles (cf. 4.7.), negative particles (cf. 4.8.), definite articles (cf. 4.9.), and vocative particles (cf. 4.10).

Chapter Five

The Functionals

The functionals are those parts of speech which have some of the features of particles and some of the features of nouns. Like particles, they constitute closed systems (cf. p. 39), they are morphologically distinct, and they do not take the definite article (note that some of them are inherently definite). Like nouns, they can function as the subject, object, predicand, predicate, annexed term, annex, attributed term, or attribute. Some of the functionals depend on the existence of other parts of speech in the sentence, like particles, other functionals can occur in isolation without depending on any other part of speech, like nouns. Free pronouns, demonstratives, and question words and circumstants in some contexts are examples of functionals that do not need another part of speech to complete their function and meaning. Bound pronouns, relatives, question words and circumstants do need another part of speech to complete their function in the sentence. In this chapter I shall discuss pronouns, relatives, question words, and circumstants.

5.1. Pronouns

Pronouns are traditionally defined in English as “words which are used instead of nouns” (Huddleston 1984: 274). The Arab grammarians define pronouns as uninflected nouns which indicate the speaker, the person being addressed, or the person being spoken about (Hasan 1975: I 217). In Abha Arabic, we consider pronouns as functionals since they constitute a closed system, they do not exhibit any morphological contrast, and they do not take the definite article. Pronouns can

function in place of common or proper nouns. They may occur as the predicand, subject, object, annex, attributed term, or attribute (in case of demonstratives only). This study will examine two types of pronouns: the personal pronouns, and the demonstratives.

5.1.1. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are distinguished according to person, number and gender. They indicate first person, second person and third person. They are also distinguished according to masculine or feminine gender. All personal pronouns are also distinguished according to singular or plural number. In Abha Arabic we distinguish two types of personal pronouns: free pronouns and bound pronouns.

5.1.1.1. Free personal pronouns

Free personal pronouns occur separately. They do not attach to following or preceding terms. As in Classical Arabic, free personal pronouns in Abha Arabic fall into two groups, the first group is the *nominative pronouns* which are the free subject pronouns and the second group is the *accusative pronouns* which are the free object pronouns.

5.1.1.1.a. Nominative pronouns

The nominative pronouns usually occur as the predicand in a predication structure. The following table shows the nominative personal pronouns:

Person/ Gender	Singular	Plural
1.	¹ <i>'ana:/ 'ini:</i>	<i>Hin/ 'inHin/ 'iHna:</i>
2.m.	<i>'int/ 'ant</i>	<i>'intu:/ 'antu:</i>
2.f.	<i>'inti:/ 'anti:</i>	<i>'intu:/ 'intum/ 'antu:/ 'antum</i>
3.m.	<i>huwwah/ hu:</i>	<i>hum/ hummah</i>
3.f.	<i>hiyyah/ hi:</i>	<i>hum/ hummah</i>

Table (5.1)

Consider the following examples for nominative free pronouns when they function as the predicand:

<i>hiyyah bint Tayyibah</i>	“she is a good girl”
<i>'inti: ja:yah bukrah</i>	“you are coming tomorrow”
<i>Hin fi l-be:t</i>	“we are home”
<i>'ana: 'ashtare:t kutub kaṭi:rah</i>	“I bought many books”
<i>'int tudrus <u>da</u> l-Hi:n?</i>	“are you studying now?”
<i>hum byitghaddu:n baʿd shwayyah</i>	“they are having lunch after a while”
<i>'ini: baji:kum <u>da</u> l-Hi:n wa shu:f</i>	“I am coming right now to see [what happened]”

¹ the glottal stop seems to be uttered when preceded by a pause, however, it is usually deleted when the pronouns preceded by a particle such as *lis*, *gid*, *ida:*, *wa* etc.

For emphasis, a free pronoun can function as a subject when occurs after a verb with a bound subject pronoun which can be considered to be an apositive (cf. 3.3.2.). Consider the following examples:

gid Talaʔi ʿana: fu:g

“I have been upstairs”

*ʿaxadatt hiyyah ʿawra:gha: w
ra:Hatt*

“she took her papers and left”

Moreover, a free pronoun can function as an object after a verb with a bound subject pronoun and a bound object pronoun to show more emphasis. Consider the following examples:

waSSalo:ni: ʿana: b sayya:rathum “they picked me up by their car”

ga:balltah huwwah ʔind il-masjid “I met him at the mosque”

A free pronoun can also function as a subject or an object when occurs with *w* (cf. 5.1.1.1.b.).

5.1.1.1.b. Accusative pronouns “linked object pronouns”

Accusative pronouns are the free object pronouns as categorised by Arabic grammarians (ʔI:d 1991: 141). However, Cowell considers this group of pronouns to be object bound pronouns suffixed to *ya:* in case of Syrian Arabic (Cowell 1964: 545). In Abha Arabic there are two groups of these pronouns according to their syntactic functions:

The first group includes pronouns which function as direct objects. These pronouns are:

'iyya:h (m. sing.)

'iyya:ha: (3f. sing.)

'iyya:hum (3m./f plural)

Accusative pronouns in the first group can be used in Abha Arabic as the direct object of ditransitive verbs. There are not many verbs which can take accusative pronouns as the direct object, and the younger generation avoids using these accusative pronouns by using free nouns or by using bound pronouns as the first (direct) object and preposition phrases as the second (indirect) object (cf. 8.1.3.). Consider the following examples:

Salwa: warratah iyya:ha: "Salwa showed him her"
S V O1 O2 (accusative pronoun)

Is realised as :

Salwa: warrat 'ali il-bint "Salwa showed Ali the girl"
S V O1 O2 (free noun)

Salwa: warratt ha: il 'ali "Salwa showed her to Ali"
S V O1 O2 (prepositional phrase)

The second group includes those pronouns that can function as the (joint) item if they occur with *w* "and". This *w* is called by the Arab grammarians *wa:w al ma'iyah*, which has the sense of "and" or "with" (Hasan 1973: II 304-305). With *w*, these pronouns can occur accompanying free pronouns and function as the joint subject or object of the verb, or as the joint predicand in a predication structure. This group includes:

<i>'iyya:ni:</i> ¹	(1. sing.)	<i>'iyya:kum</i>	(2m/f. pl.)
<i>'iyya:na:</i>	(1.m/f. pl.)	<i>'iyya:h</i>	(3m.sing.)
<i>iyya:k</i>	(2m. sing.)	<i>'iyya:ha:</i>	(3.f.sing.)
<i>'iyya:sh</i>	(2.f.sing.)	<i>'iyya:hum</i>	(3.m./f.pl.)

Consider the following examples:

When the pronoun functions as the subject of a verb:

Tala:t 'ana: w iyya:ha: fi “she and I went out in the morning”
S-Saba:H

tigaddam 'int w iyya:hum “you and them move on”
gidda:m

taxarrajt 'ana: w iyya:h fi: sanah “he and I graduated in the same year”
waHdah

When the pronoun functions as the object of a transitive verb:

shuftah huwwah w iyya:ha: “I saw him with her”

kallamtaha: hiyyah w iyya:h “I talked to her and him”

gid Darabtik 'int w iyya:h “I beat you and him”

¹ *'iyya:ni* occurs only on one context to imply a threat as in:

'iyya:ni: w iyya:k tru:H ma: tgu:l li: “I am warning you, do not go without
telling me”

When the pronoun functions as the predicand:

'inti: w iyya:ha: sawa: “you and she are the same”

hi: w iyya:h yizʕuju:na: “she and he are disturbing us”

huwah w iyya:hum 'aSdiga: “he and them are friends”

5.1.1.2. Bound personal pronouns

Bound pronouns may be attached to nouns, verbs, circumstants, or prepositions. Bound pronouns are of two groups: bound subject pronouns and bound object pronouns. They show gender (masculine or feminine), number (singular or plural) and person (first, second or third) like the free pronouns.

5.1.1.2.a. Bound subject pronouns

Bound subject pronouns are usually attached to the verb and function as the subject. Consider the following table for these pronouns:

Person/Gender	Tense	Singular	Plural
1	past	-t	-na:
2.m.	past	-t	-tu:
2.f.	past	-ti	-tu:
3. m.	past	--	-aw/-o:
3. f.	past	-att	-aw/-o:
1.	present	--	--
2. m.	present	--	-u:n
2. f.	present	-i:n	-u:n

3. m	present	—	-u:n
3. f.	present	—	-u:n
2. m.	imperat-	—	-o:/u:
2. f.	imperat-	-i:	-o:/u:

Table (5.2.)

Consider the following examples of bound subject pronouns in context:

<i>sa:faraw a:l ʕali: fi D-Duhur</i>	“the Ali travelled in the afternoon”
<i>ʕijlisu: ze:n</i>	“sit well”
<i>taghaddo: b surʕah</i>	“eat your lunch quickly”
<i>ʕil-ʕwa:l yakl u:n ʕaktar</i>	“the boys eat more”
<i>gare:t hada l-kita:b ʕams</i>	“I read this book yesterday”
<i>ʕinti: numti: l-ba:riH badri:</i>	“you slept last night early”
<i>kale:tu: il-ʕakil kullah?</i>	“did you eat all the food?”
<i>darasna: le:n tiʕb na:</i>	“we studied till we got tired”
<i>ʕudxuli: min il-maTar</i>	“come in from the rain”
<i>xala:S gid laʕb o: le:</i>	“that is enough, they have played till they
<i>shabʕo:</i>	satisfied”

5.1.1.2.b. Bound object pronouns

Bound object pronouns usually function as the object of a transitive verb, or the annex of a noun, preposition, or circumstant. Bound object pronouns are usually attached to the preceding items. Consider the following table for bound object pronouns:

person/ Gender	Singular	Plural
1	<i>-i:¹</i>	<i>-na:</i>
2. m.	<i>-k²</i>	<i>-kum</i>
2. f.	<i>-sh</i>	<i>-kum</i>
3. m.	<i>-h</i>	<i>-hum</i>
3. f.	<i>-ha:</i>	<i>-hum</i>

Table (5.3.)

Consider the following examples of bound pronouns in context:

When bound pronouns function as the object of a transitive verb:

huwwah kallamni: ʔan
il-mawDu: ʔ

“he talked to me about
the subject”

ga:balatkum ʕumm Salwa:ʔ

“did Salwa’s mother meet
you?”

¹ *i* is preceded by *n* when it attaches to a verb.

² *k* is sometimes preceded by the vowel *i* or rarely *a*, *sh* can preceded by *i*, and *h* can also preceded by *a* or rarely *i*. This refers to the speakers’ geographical origins, see Prochazka (1988: 126) for pronouns in different tribes in the area surrounding Abha; and Ingham (1982a: 247-250) for pronouns in the Najdi: dialects.

<i>'ana: daxaltah il-ba:riH w-ka:n</i>	"I entered it last night and it was
<i>muDlim</i>	dark"

When bound pronouns function as the annex of a preposition:

<i>Sha:hrah ra:Hat luhum 'ams</i>	"Shahrah went to them yesterday"
-----------------------------------	----------------------------------

<i>ga:lo: li: 'ann kum bass ma:</i>	"They told me about you, but
<i>Saddagt</i>	I did not believe it"

<i>'allam li sh 'ali: b il-'azi:mah?</i>	"did Ali tell you about the
	invitation?"

When bound pronouns function as the annex of a circumstant:

<i>shift ish-shajarah ha:di, ana:</i>	"do you see this tree, I climbed
<i>marrah Tala't fo:g ha:</i>	up it once"

<i>HuTTi is-sita:rah wara:h</i>	"put the curtain behind it"
---------------------------------	-----------------------------

<i>'a:l 'ali: waSlo: gida:m na:</i>	"the Ali arrived before us"
-------------------------------------	-----------------------------

When bound pronouns function as the annex of a noun:

<i>ha:di: madrasatkum il-jadi:dah</i>	"this is your (p.)new school"
---------------------------------------	-------------------------------

<i>le:h 'agla:mi: mnattarah kidah?</i>	"why are my pens thrown
	around like this?"

<i>be:tha: Hilu: marrah</i>	"her house is so beautiful"
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5.1.2. Demonstrative pronouns

The term “demonstrative” indicates the pointing gesture (Huddleston 1984: 196). Demonstrative pronouns occur separately, i.e. they do not attach to any term. On the morphological level, demonstratives are of two types: demonstratives with the initial *ha*, and demonstratives without initial *ha*. The demonstratives without initial *ha* can be divided further into two types, demonstratives which begin with *t* and demonstratives which begin with *d*. Demonstratives are distinguished morphologically in terms of: number (singular and plural), gender (masculine and feminine), and distance (far, near and middle). The following tables show these demonstratives. The first table shows the demonstrative pronouns that have the initial *h*.

Number	Gender	Distance	Demonstrative
sing.	m.	near	<i>ha:da:</i>
sing.	f.	near	<i>ha:di:</i>
sing.	m.	far	<i>hada:k</i>
sing.	f.	far	<i>hadi:k</i>
pl.	m. f.	near	<i>hado:la:</i>
pl.	m. f.	far	<i>hado:la:k</i>
pl.	m. f.	middle	<i>hado:liyya:k/hado:li:k</i>

Table (5.4.)

The following table shows the demonstrative pronouns that begin with *d*

Number	Gender	Distance	Demonstrative
sing	m.	near	<i>d̥e:h/ da¹</i>
sing.	f.	near	<i>d̥i:</i>
sing.	m.	middle	<i>d̥iya:k</i>
sing.	m.	far	<i>d̥a:k</i>
sing.	f.	far	<i>d̥i:k</i>
pl.	m.f.	near	<i>d̥o:la:</i>
pl.	m.f.	near	<i>d̥o:le:h</i>
pl.	m.	middle	<i>d̥o:liyya:k/d̥o:li:k</i>
pl.	m. f.	far	<i>do:la:k</i>

Table (5.5.)

The following table shows the demonstrative pronouns that begin with *t*.

Number	Gender	Distance	Demonstrative
sing.	f.	near	<i>te:h/ti:h</i>
sing.	f.	middle	<i>tiya:k/tiyya:k</i>
sing.	f.	far	<i>ti:k</i>
pl.	f.	near	<i>to:le:h</i>
pl.	f.	middle	<i>to:liyya:k/to:li:k</i>

Table (5.6.)

¹ *d̥a* as a demonstrative is different than the relative *d̥a:* (cf. 5.2.3). *d̥a* usually functions as an attributed term to a noun with definite article (9.3.2.).

From the above tables, we see that *k* indicates further distance as in *da:k*, *di:k*, and *do:la:k*. The demonstratives with *iya:k/ iyya:k* indicate middle distance as in *diya:k*, *tiya:k*, and *do:liyya:k*. Middle distance indicates the place where the object, such as a person, is located not so near to the speaker that he can hear him nor so far that he cannot see him. Demonstratives that begin with *t* always indicate feminine gender such as *te:h*, *ti:k*, and *to:le:h*.

Unlike in English, demonstratives in classical Arabic and in Abha Arabic do not function as determiners. However, they can occur at the beginning of a noun phrase as an attributed term. Consider the following examples:

ha:da: l-walad shagi: “this boy is too active”

te:h il- madrasah she:nah “this school is not good”

Demonstratives may occur as the predicand, predicate, object, annex, attributed term, or attribute. Consider the following examples:

When a demonstrative functions as the predicand:

ha:da: walad w ha:di: bint “this is a boy and this is a girl”

do:la:k laʿbi:n il-ku:rah “those are the football players”

do:liyya:k ʿuwa:l xa:li: “these/those are my cousins”

When a demonstrative functions as a predicate:

ʿinti: ha:di: ʿilli: fi S-Su:rah “are you this [one] in the picture”

ha:li: te:h “here I am”

When a demonstrative functions as an object:

'inti: tabghe:n ha:di: walla: la:? “do you want this or not?”

ana: gid daxalt de:h il-be:t zama:n “I [entered] came to this house a long time before”

ka'anni: 'aʕrif to:liyya:k il-binte:n “It seems that I know these two girls”

When a demonstrative functions as an annex:

ʕali: katab ʕala: de:h “Ali wrote on this”

ma: hi: 'uxt te:h “she is not the sister of this [one]”

maka:n do:la:k 'aHsan “those [people]’s place is better”

When a demonstrative functions as an attributed term:

ha:da: l-walad mumta:z “this boy is excellent”

te:h il-bint bintish? “is this girl your daughter?”

When a demonstrative functions as an attribute:

ir-rajja:l de:h maʕak? “is this man with you”

'ana: ma: 'abgha: 'asmaʕ “I do not want to hear any word
kalmah ʕann il-mawDu:ʕ ha:da: about this issue”

5.1.2.1. Locative demonstratives

There are three demonstratives in Abha Arabic which indicate place. These demonstratives denote near, middle and far distance. They do not indicate gender or number. Like the personal and demonstrative pronouns, locative demonstratives can be considered as definite since they can refer to a specific place. The locative demonstratives are as follows:

Distance	Demonstratives
near	<i>hinah</i>
middle	<i>hiniyya:k</i>
far	<i>hna:k</i>

Table (5.7.)

These demonstratives can function as the predicand, the predicate, or the adverb in a clause. Consider the following examples for demonstratives in context:

When they function as the predicand:

<i>hinah</i> ‘aHsan	“here is better”
<i>hna:k</i> ba:rid marrah	“there it is too cold”
<i>hniyya:k</i> gaʕado: il-Hari:m	“it was over there that the women sat”

When they function as the predicate:

<i>ir-rija:l hniyya:k</i>	“the men are over there”
<i>il-ʕwa:l hna:k</i>	“the children are there”
‘a:lah <i>hinah</i> yo:m ga:baltah	“this is the place where I met him”

When they function as the adverb:

<i>ana: kallamtuhum hna:k w</i>	“I called them there and asked
<i>gult il hum yiju:n</i>	them to come”

<i>ʔali: ja:ni: hinah</i>	“Ali came to me here”
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5.1.2.2. Indefinite demonstratives

The indefinite demonstratives are similar to locative demonstratives in that they do not indicate gender or number. They do not necessarily denote distance. However, there are many indefinite demonstratives which are used differently by people. These indefinite demonstratives are: *kidah/kedah*, *kidi:h/kade:h*, *kadayyah*, *kada:* and *kada:k*

kidah/kedah is the most common indefinite demonstrative. It is used to explain the manner of doing something in the near or middle distance. *kidi:h/kade:h*, *kada:* and *kada:k* are less common and are used mostly by people who are originally from GaHTa:n and surrounding areas. *kidi:h/kade:h* can be used to indicate the manner of doing something very near and very delicate. *kada:* is to indicate doing something in the near or middle distance whereas *kada:k* is used by the same people to indicate far distance. These demonstratives can function as the adverb, predicand or predicate. Consider the following examples:

When a locative demonstrative functions as an adverb:

<i>ta:ni: marrah la: tsawwi: kidah</i>	“do not do [like] this again”
--	-------------------------------

<i>law innik HaTTe:tah kada:k</i>	“if you had put it that way, it would
<i>ka:n 'aHsan</i>	have been better”

ha:tah kidi:h

“bring it here, this way”

When a locative demonstrative functions as a predicand:

kidah ghalaT

“this way is wrong”

kidi:h ‘aHsan

“this way is better”

When a locative demonstrative functions as a predicate:

ma: hi: kidah

“it is not like this”

‘a:yha: kade:h

“it is like this”

5.2. Relatives

Relatives introduce subordinate clauses. In this study, they are classified as functionals since they constitute a closed system, do not inflect, do not take the definite article and function with their following items as one item in place of the subject or object of a verb, the predicand or predicate in a predication structure, or as the attribute in an attributive phrase. Relative functionals can precede perfect or imperfect verbs. Relative functionals are as follows:

Relatives	Gloss
<i>‘illi:</i>	“that”, “who”
<i>min</i>	“who”, “whom”
<i>ma:</i>	“what”
<i>da:</i>	“who”

Table (5.8.)

5.2.1. 'illi:

'illi: can refer to animate or inanimate objects. It can occur before perfect or imperfect verbs. It can function with the following item as a predicand, predicate, object or attribute. Consider the following examples:

'illi: yiHibb in-na:s yHibbu:nah	"he who likes people is liked"
'inti: 'illi: gulti: lah	"you are the one who told him"
xala:S 'ana: nisi:t 'illi: Sa:r	"O.k. I forgot what had happened"
ha:da: ir-rajja:l 'illi: 'agu:l lik	"this the man who I told you about"
ha:d huwwah 'illi: kunt xa:yfah minnah	"that is what I was afraid of"

5.2.2. min and ma:

min can refer only to animate (i.e. human) objects. It can function with the following item as a predicand or object. ma: can refer only to inanimate objects. It can function with the following items similarly to min as predicand and object.

min Sadagik ma: xa:nik	"he who tells you the truth is not cheating you"
ma: gaddamt fi: dunya:k ligi:tah fi 'a:xratk	"whatever you did in your life, you would find after death"
il-mafru:D tsa:ʔid min sa:ʔadk	"you should help those who helped you"

taʕallami ma: yinfaʕsh

“learn what is useful for you”

5.2.3. *da:*

da: can accompany a following item to function as an attribute for the preceding noun. *da:* is used only by people from the Tiha:mah and mainly by older people. Consider the following examples:

*la: ma: hi: shiri:fah da: ra:Hatt
luhum*

“no, it is not Sharifah who went
to them”

*shift im¹-walad da: ka:n maʕak
ʕams*

“I saw the boy who was with you
yesterday”

5.3. Question words

Question words are defined by Arab grammarians as nouns which are used to ask about something. However, these words are regarded in this study as functionals: they constitute a closed system, they do not inflect, they do not take the definite article, and they can function in the sentence as the predicate (cf. 6.1.4.2.). Arab grammarians consider question words to be predicates occurring in the first position of the predication structure (Hasan 1975: I 496). These functionals are as follows:

question words	Gloss
<i>mata:</i>	“when”
<i>fe:n/ e:n</i>	“where”
<i>ke:f</i>	“how”

¹ *im* is a definite article that is used mainly by the old people from the Tiha:mah (cf. 4.9.).

<i>ish/ e:sh</i>	“what”, “how”, “why”
<i>le:h/ le:sh/ limah</i>	“why”
<i>kann</i>	“what”, “why”
<i>kam</i>	“how many/ much”
<i>min/ man</i>	“who”
<i>‘arabb</i>	“is it true that..”

Table (5.9.)

All these functionals can precede a perfect, imperfect, *b* + imperfect verb, or a noun or pronoun. They usually need a following item to complete their function in the sentence. However, they can occur in isolation by using the question word only when asking about something which has been previously mentioned.

5.3.1. *mata:*

mata: is used to ask about the time of an action. It precedes a perfect, imperfect, *b* + imperfect verb, noun or free pronoun. Consider the following examples:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| <i>mata: xalaSaw?</i> | “when did they finish?” |
| <i>mata: yuju:n?</i> | “when are they coming?” |
| <i>mata: bixalliS?</i> | “when is it going to finish?” |
| <i>mata: shahrah btimtiHin?</i> | “when is Shahrah going to do the examination?” |
| <i>mata: ant btifham?</i> | “when are you going to understand?” |

5.3.2. *fe:n/e:n*

fe:n/ e:n is used to ask about the location of an object, or the location of an event or action. It precedes a perfect, imperfect, *b* + imperfect verb, or a noun or pronoun. Consider the following examples:

<i>fe:n ruHtu:?</i>	“where did you go?”
<i>min fe:n jibtah?</i>	“from where did you bring it?”
<i>fe:n tuskumu:n?</i>	“where are you going to live?”
<i>e:n btugʔud?</i>	“where are you going to stay?”
<i>fe:n axu:k?</i>	“where is your brother?”
<i>ʔla: fe:n ra:yaH?</i>	“to where are you heading?”
<i>fe:n ant min ‘ams?</i>	“where have you been since yesterday?”

5.3.3. *ke:f*

ke:f is used to ask about the status of an object or the way of doing something. It can precede a perfect, imperfect, or *b* + imperfect verb to ask how to do something. It can precede a noun or free pronoun to ask about the status of an object. Consider the following examples:

<i>ke:f Sadam?</i>	“how did he crash?”
<i>ke:f tishtighil ha:di:?</i>	“how does this work?”
<i>ke:f btsawwi:h?</i>	“how are you going to do it?”

ke:f shughlik?

“how is your work?”

ke:f hi:?

“how is she?”

ke:f is used widely before the word *Ha:l* “state”, plus a bound pronoun to ask about somebody in the sense of “how are you?” as in:

ke:f Ha:lik?

“how are you?”

5.3.4. *ish/e:sh*

ish/e:sh can be used in different senses. In the sense of “what”, it can be followed by a noun or verb. Consider the following examples:

ish ismik?

“what is your name?”

ish tishtighil?

“what are you doing for a living?”

ish sawwe:t?

“what did you do?”

ish can be followed by the preposition *b* plus a noun or bound pronoun to ask about status and means only “what is wrong with (somebody)”, for example:

ish bik?

“what is wrong with you? m.s.”

ish buhum?

“what is wrong with them?”

However, *ish* plus *b* can mean “why” in contexts like:

ish b ʔali: ma: ja:?

“why did Ali not come?”

ish buhum ʔaxxaraw il-mawʔid?

“why did they postpone the appointment?”

The difference between *ish* plus *b* in the above contexts seems to be the same as the difference between *what* and *why* in English in the same contexts. Consider the following examples:

ish bish?

“what is wrong with you?”

ish bish zaʔla:nah?

“why are you angry?”

The second context can include an adjective, a verb phrase, or an adverb. For example:

ish bah ja: misriʔ?

“why did he come in a hurry”

Moreover, *ish* can be followed by *go:m*¹ to ask about status in the meaning of “what is wrong with you” or “why” similarly to *ish* plus *b*. *ish* + *go:m* is mostly used by people from GaHTa:n and surrounding areas. *wishgo:m* is recorded by Ingham for the Murra dialect and it is said to be equivalent to the Northern *wishʕilm* or *wishbala* (Ingham 1986: 281) consider the following examples:

ish go:mik

“what is wrong with you”

ish go:mah yibki:ʔ

“why is he crying?”

Finally, *ish* can be used in the meaning of “how” only in the following context:

ish Ha:lkum

“how are you?”

¹ The literal meaning of *go:m* is “a group of people”. However, *go:m* does not have this sense when used after the question device *ish*. It has the sense of case or status. It can be used at the beginning of the answer as in:

go:mah ʕali: yo:m ra:H

“it is because Ali has left”

5.3.5. *kann*

kann can be used in the same contexts as *ish*. *ish* is used by people in general, whereas *kann* is used mainly by people who originate from GaHTa:n. However, young people use *ish* mostly. *kann* is usually used before a noun or bound pronoun. Consider the following examples:

kann 'axu:k? "what is wrong with your brother?"

kann 'abu:sh 'abTa:? "why is your father late?"

kannik? "what is wrong with you?"

kannik kallamtaha:? "why did you call her?"

kann is not used in the sense of "how are you", unlike *ish*, and it is limited in use.

5.3.6. *le:h/ le:sh, limah*

le:h/ le:sh, limah are used to ask about the reason for an event or action. *le:sh* is less common than *le:h* and has probably been borrowed from another dialect such as Syrian or other closer dialect. *limah* is often used before *yo:m* "lit. day" and used only by older people from ʿAsi:r. *le:h/ le:sh* and *limah* precede a noun, free pronoun, perfect and imperfect verb. Consider the following examples:

le:h Mara:m ta:xuḏ w ana: la:? "why does Maram take and I do not?"

le:h inti: 'illi: tru:Hi:n luhum bass? "why are you [the only one] who goes to them?"

le:sh ta'axxart? "why were you late?"

limah yo:m 'aru:H laha:?

“why do I have to go to her?”

5.3.7. *kam*

kam is used to ask about number. It precedes verb, nouns, pronouns, or prepositional phrases or circumstants. Consider the following examples:

kam axadti:?

“how many did you take?”

kam tibgho:n?

“how many do you want?”

kam l-miHilla:t illi: ?indiku?

“how many shops that you have?”

kam antu:?

“how many are you?”

kam taHtaha:?

“how many are under it?”

kam ?indik?

“how many do you have?”

kam can be used to ask about time as well. Consider the following example:

kam is-sa: ?ah?

“what is the time?”

5.3.8. *min/man*

min/man is used to ask about somebody in the sense of “who”. It is often followed by a relative functional such as *'illi:* or *da:* followed by a verb. It can be followed also by a free pronoun. Consider the following examples:

man 'illi: ga:l lah?

“who said that?”

min 'illi: yibgha: yiTla:?

“who wants to go out?”

<i>min 'illi: biʔabbi:h?</i>	“who is going to fill it up?”
<i>man hi: faTmah?</i>	“who is Fatma?”
<i>min hu: mdarrisk?</i>	“who is your teacher?”

In some contexts, *man* can precede a free pronoun followed by a relative clause.

Consider the following examples:

<i>man hu: 'illi: talaggaf w ga:l luhum?</i>	“who was nosey and told them?”
<i>man hu: 'illi: 'amarik tsawwi:h?</i>	“who asked you to do it?”
<i>min hi: 'illi: fataHatt ʔalayyah il-ba:b?</i>	“who opened the door on me?”

5.3.9. *'arabb*

'arabb is a word that can be used as a question device. It precedes a noun or a bound pronoun. It gives the sense of hoping in the meaning of “I hope that...?” and the sense of surprise in the meaning of “is it true that..?”, or “how come...?”. Consider the following examples:

Hope:

<i>'arabb ʔali: byugʔud ʔindukum?</i>	“I hope Ali is going to stay with you?”
<i>'arabbah za:n lik?</i>	“I hope it is good for you?, (i e I hope you liked it?”
<i>'arabbuhum lagyu:k</i>	“I hope they met you?”

Surprise:

'arabbish btiTliʕi:n ki dah?

“are you going out like this?”

'arabbik ma: ʕiriftah?

“how come you did not know him?”

'arabbukum bitxallu:nah kidah?

“are you going to leave it like this?”

'arabb is not always used as a question device. It can be used as a particle in the meaning of “I hope that..”, “it might be”. *'arabb* in this meaning is attested in the Murra dialect (Ingham 1986: 281). Consider the following examples:

'isruʕu: 'arabbhin nilHaghum

“quickly, [hopefully] we might catch them”

'is'alah 'arabbah yiʕallim lik

“ask him, [hopefully] he might tell you”

5.4. Circumstants

Arab grammarians define circumstants as nouns that indicate place or time and always include the sense of the preposition *fi* without showing it (Hasan 1973: II 243-244). According to the Arabs' definition, circumstants should be part of a verbal sentence. They distinguish two groups of circumstants: those which always function as circumstants or semi-circumstants, and those which could function as circumstants and also as the predicand, predicate, subject, object, annexed term or annex. The first group is defined as *ghayra mutaSarrif* which means that they always function as circumstants or as a semi-circumstants and do not inflect. Consider the following examples from Classical Arabic:

jalasa fawqa d-da:r

“he sat over (on) the house”

waqafa 'ama:ma l-bayt

“he stood up before the house”

yuHibbu l-'awla:du 'an yal'abu:

“children like to play out

xa:rija l-madrasah

side the school”

Semi-circumstants are time or place circumstants which are annexed only to the preposition *min*, (?Abdu l-Hami:d (n.d.): I 587). Consider the following examples:

nazala min fawqi d-da:r

“lit. he came down from over the house”

xarajtu min 'indi zaydin

“lit. I went out from Zayd”

Dahara min taHti l-'arD

“it came out from under the earth”

The second group of circumstants is defined as *mutaSarriif* which means that they can function as circumstants in some contexts or as a subject, object, predicand, predicate, annex, or annexed term. When they function as the subject, or object, etc., they are not regarded as circumstants according to the Arab grammarians' definitions. Consider the following examples from Classical Arabic:

Terms which function as circumstants and others:

ja: 'a r-rajulu Saba:Han “the man came [in the] morning”

Saba:Han is a circumstant here since it indicates time and has the implicit meaning of *fi*.

ja: 'a r-rajulu fi S-Saba:H “the man came in the morning”

S-Saba:H is not a circumstant here since it is annexed to an explicit *fi*.

Saba:Hu l-jum'ati jami:lun . “the morning of Friday is nice”

Saba:hu: is not circumstant here since it functions as the predicand of the sentence.

For more details, see Hasan (1973: II 242-258), ‘abdu l-Hami:d ((n.d.): I 579-589), Ibnu-‘Aqi:l, (1980: I 489-528).

Watson considers circumstants to be untrue prepositions. They can function either as prepositions, or as the annex of true prepositions. They are distinguished from true prepositions in that they can occur without a following annex, and can function as one of the major parts of speech (Watson 1993: 197).

In this study, circumstants are considered to be functionals. They have the features of functionals in that they constitute a closed system, they do not take the definite article, they do not inflect, and they have syntactic function in the sentence. They can occur in a nominal sentence or a verbal sentence. In Abha Arabic, as in Classical Arabic, there are two types of circumstants: circumstants which indicate place, and circumstants which indicate time.

5.4.1. Circumstants of place

Circumstants of place indicate the location of an object or an event or action.

The circumstants of place are as follows:

Circumstant	Gloss	Circumstant	Gloss
<i>fo:g</i>	“up”, “above”	<i>wara:</i>	“behind”
<i>taHt</i>	“under”, “below”	<i>da:xil</i>	“inside”
<i>xalf</i>	“behind”, “after”	<i>janb</i>	“next”
<i>gafa:</i>	“behind”	<i>Ho:l</i>	“around”
<i>gharb</i>	“west”	<i>Hawa:le:</i>	“around”
<i>sharg</i>	“east”	<i>‘ind</i>	“at”, “near”
<i>be:n</i>	“between”	<i>xa:rij</i>	“outside”

<i>jihat</i>	“toward”	<i>tamm</i>	“there”
<i>baʿd</i>	“after”	<i>giblah</i>	“toward Makkah”
<i>gabil</i>	“before”	<i>barra:</i>	“outside”
<i>gidḍa:m</i>	“before”, “in front of”	<i>xalf</i>	“after”

Table (5.10.)

Circumstants have different functions in the sentence. They can function as the predicand or the predicate in a nominal clause. Consider the following examples:

When they function as the predicand:

fo:g ‘aHsan min taHt “up is better than down”

taHt ysaxxin ‘aktar “lit, downstairs heats up more (i.e.
downstairs becomes hotter)”

When they function as the predicate:

ir-rija:l fo:g “lit. men are upstairs, men are sitting
upstairs”

‘a:lha: ʕindi: “it is with me”

Circumstants can function as the adverb and that is the function which Arab grammarians consider for the circumstants. Consider the following examples:

intaDru:na: janb l-madrasah “wait for us near the school”

gaʿadna: gidḍa:m “we sat at the front”

Circumstants can function as the annexed term in an annexation phrase. Consider the following examples:

<i>jalast ʕind id-dafa:yah</i>	“I sat near [to] the fire place”
<i>waggaf gidda:m il-isha:rah</i>	“he stopped in front of the traffic lights”
<i>bantiDrik wara: il-madrasah</i>	“I will wait for you behind the school”

Circumstants can function as the annex of a preposition (either *min* or *le:*). Consider the following examples:

<i>gumt min ʕind id-dafa:yah</i>	“I got up from near the fireplace”
<i>ruHt le: ʕind il-ba:b</i>	“I went to near the front door”
<i>jaw min wara: il-be:t</i>	“they came from behind the house”

Some circumstants function like prepositions, and can be replaced by a preposition.

Consider the following examples:

<i>ʕa:lhum da:xil il-be:t</i>	“they are inside the house”
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can be interpreted as

<i>ʕa:lhum fi l-be:t</i>	“they are in the house”
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<i>sulTa:n fo:g is-suTu:H</i>	“lit. Sultan is over the roof”
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can be interpreted as

<i>sulTa:n ʕala : s-suTuH</i>	“lit. Sultan is on the roof”
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5.4.2. Circumstants of time

Circumstants of time are those functionals which indicate time. They are as follows:

Circumstant	Gloss
<i>gabł/gabil</i>	“before”
<i>gidda:m</i>	“before”
<i>baʔd</i>	“after”
<i>xalf</i>	“after”
<i>maʔa:</i>	“with”, “during”
<i>gurb</i>	“near to”
<i>giri:b</i>	“soon”
<i>Hawa:li:/ Ho:l</i>	“around” , “about”
<i>be:n</i>	“between”

Table (5.11.)

Circumstants of time can function as the annexed term, the annex of a preposition or as the adverb. Consider the following examples:

When circumstances function as annexed terms:

biyo:Salu:n ba'd uhum "they will arrive after them"

<i>taghadde:na: maʿa l-maghrib</i>	“we had our lunch at sunset”
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Hu:l, *Hawa:li:* and *gurb* are annexed to time terms only, for example:

il-Haflah gurb il-maghrrib “the party [time] is near to sunset time”

<i>is-sayya:rah txalliS Hawa:li:</i>	“the car will [be] finish[ed]
<i>is-sa:ʔah ʔarbaʔah</i>	around four o'clock”

When circumstants function as the annexes of prepositions:

<i>ja: min gabl l-fajir</i>	“he came before dawn (lit, from before dawn)”
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<i>bada: il-imtiHa:n min Hawa:li:</i>	“the test has started about
<i>sa:ʔah</i>	one hour ago”

<i>gaʔad maʔah le: baʔd il-ʔamaliyyah</i>	“he stayed with him until after the operation”
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When circumstants function on their own as adverbs:

<i>bno:Sal giri:b</i>	“we will arrive soon”
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There are some circumstants that can indicate both time and place according to their annexes. If the annex is a noun denoting place, the circumstant will be a place circumstant, and if the noun denotes time, the circumstant will be a time circumstant. These circumstants are *gabil*, *gidda:m*, *be:n*, *baʔd*, *xalf*, and *Ho:l*. Consider the following examples where the first example of each pair indicate time and the second example indicates place:

1. <i>gabil l-maghrib</i>	“before the sunset”
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and

2. <i>gabil l-ʔma:rah</i>	“before the building”
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1. <i>ma: hu: ze:n inn il-wa:Hid</i>	“it is not good to be frightened
<i>yixtilaʔ be:n l-maghrib w il-ʔisha:</i>	between sunset and evening”

and

2. *ligi:tah be:n id-du:la:b w
l-jadir*

“I found it between the cupboard
and the wall”

1. *ghada:na: da:yman Ho:l
is-sa:ʔah waHdah*

“our lunch is always around one
o’clock”

and

2. *sakano: Ho:l madrasat
bana:thum*

“they live near to their daughters’
school”

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the functionals which are those parts of speech that have some features of particles and some features of nouns. They are similar to particles in that they constitute closed system, they do not inflect, and they do not take the definite article. They are similar to nouns in that they may function as the subject, object, predicand, predicate, annexed term, annex, attributed term or attribute. Functionals include: the pronouns (personal pronouns and demonstratives) (cf. 5.1.), relatives (cf. 5.2.), question words (cf. 5.3.), and circumstants (cf. 5.4.).

Part two:

The relationship between parts of speech

This part of the thesis studies the syntactic relationships between parts of speech. It discusses the way in which parts of speech function in context within larger syntactic units such as phrases, clauses and sentences. The relationships that are examined in this part are: predication (Chapter Six), annexation (Chapter Seven), complementation (Chapter Eight), and attribution (Chapter Nine). The syntactic relationships which are examined in this part are based on syntactic relationships discussed by Cowell (1964) in *A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic* and Watson (1993) in *A Syntax of San'a:ni: Arabic*.

Chapter Six

Predication

A predication structure consists of two constituents: a predicand *al-mubtada'* and a predicate *al-xabar*. The predicand and predicate constitute a complete sentence in classical Arabic (Ghalayyini: 1993: 253-254). The predicand is *al-musnad 'ilayhi* which is distinguished in that it is the object which is informed about and the predicate is *al-musnad* which is the information about the predicand.

6.1. Predication structure in Abha Arabic

Studying predication structure in Abha Arabic is based on the nominal sentence. Verbal sentences are not studied as predication. In this study, there is a distinction between the construction of the verbal sentence *jumlah fi 'liyyah* and the nominal sentence *jumlah 'ismiyyah*. This distinction is made by traditional Arab grammarians. The subject in *al-jumlah al-fi 'liyyah* is *al-fa: 'il*, the governee. It is the one (or thing) that carries out the action of the verb. It normally follows the verb and may precede the object or other complements. The subject in *al-jumlah al-'ismiyyah* is *al-mubtada'*, the theme or the predicand. It is the topic of the sentence. The predicand usually heads the predication structure, and is better known than the predicate. The predicate normally follows the predicand, and carries information about the predicand.

6.1.1. The predicand

6.1.1.1. Definiteness

Predicands are usually definite. They can be personal pronouns, demonstratives or proper nouns, nouns with the definite article, or nouns annexed to annexes (cf. definiteness 2.3.2.). Consider the following examples:

The predicand as a personal pronoun:

huwwah 'illi: ga:l li: “he is the one who told me”

The predicand as a demonstrative pronoun:

ha:da: waladi: “this is my son”

The predicand as a proper noun:

Sami:rah tkallim fi t-tilifu:n “Sami:rah is on the phone”

The predicand as a noun with the definite article:

il-be:t kibi:r 'ale:kum “the house is too big for you”

The predicand as a noun with bound pronoun annex:

'ammi: ja:na: 'ams “my uncle visited us yesterday”

However, the predicand can be indefinite and occur first in the predication structure. In this case, it is usually preceded by the particle *fi:h* or *bah/ba:*. These particles occur before an indefinite predicand to say that the speaker has information about the predicand even though it is unknown to the listener. They also emphasise the

information that is presented in the sentence (cf. 4.3., 6.1.3.2.). Consider the following examples:

<i>fī:h rajja:l daxal il-bank il-ba:riH</i>	“there was a man who entered the bank last night”
<i>fī:h Harb bitgu:m</i>	“there will be a war taking place”
<i>fī:h na:s tarki:n ‘aʕma:lhum w msa:fri:n</i>	“there are people leaving their jobs and travelling [away]”
<i>ba: kutub ʕa T-Ta:wlah</i>	“there are books on the table”

6.1.1. 2. The categories of the predicand

The predicand in Abha Arabic can be a noun, a pronoun, a prepositional or circumstantial phrase, a nominal or verbal phrase or a clause.

6.1.1.2.a. The predicand as a noun

A noun predicand is usually definite (cf. 6.1.1.1.). It can be a proper noun or a noun with the definite article. Consider the following examples:

The predicand as a proper noun:

<i>xa:lid fī l-be:t</i>	“khalid is at home”
<i>sami:rah btiji:</i>	“Sami:rah is coming”

The predicand as a noun with the definite article:

<i>il-walad ra:gid</i>	“the boy is sleeping”
<i>il-bsa:s ‘ali:fah</i>	“cats are pets”

il-madrasah 'iTafish

“school is boring”

6.1.1.2.b. The predicand as a pronoun

The predicand can be a personal pronoun or a demonstrative. Consider the following examples:

The predicand as a personal pronoun:

'int 'ali:

“you [are] Ali”

Hin 'wa:l sha:hrah

“we [are] Shahrah’s children”

'ana: 'a:kul bsur'ah

“I eat quickly”

hiyyah ttaghadda: da l-Hi:n

“she is having her lunch now”

hum 'illi: ga:lo: lah

“they are the ones who said it”

Bound pronouns can occur as the predicand when attached to the particle *ha:l* or one of its variants (cf. 4.2., 6.1.3.1.). Consider the following examples:

'a:lah byiji:kum

“he will come to you”

'a:yhum 'illi: galo: lah

“they are who told him”

'a:lhum 'indish

“they are with you”

The predicand as a demonstrative:

ha:da: walad

“this is a boy”

ha:da: 'illi: na:giSna:

“this is what we need”

te:h 'uxti:

“this is my sister”

hna:k Harr 'aktar

“there [it] is warmer”

hinah il-ʔurs

“here is the wedding”

hniyya:k in-mu:r 'aDʔaf

“over there the light is less”

Locative demonstratives can be preceded by the particle *fi:h* or *ba:/bah* to show more emphasis (c.f. 4.3., 6.1.3.2.).

6.1.1.2.c. The predicand as a prepositional or circumstantial phrase

The predicand can be a prepositional or circumstantial phrase if the predicate is an indefinite noun and the annex of the preposition or the circumstant is definite. Arab grammarians consider these phrases to be predicates occurring in the first position in the predication structure. However, in this study I consider these phrases to be predicands since they are better known and more specific than the indefinite nouns. Beeston (1970: 68-70) believes that prepositional and circumstantial phrases can function as predicands. In the example that Beeston studied, *fi: hada: l mawDi ʔi qaSr* “in this place is a castle”, he points out that *fi: hada: l mawDi ʔ* is the predicand (theme) and *qaSr* is the predicate because *qaSr* states what sort of thing this place contains. In his analysis, Beeston claims that in the alternative English sentence “there is a castle in this place”, “castle” is set in the normal predicative position after the verb “is”. However, although I agree with Beeston in his conclusion, I shall point out two points. Firstly, analysing an Arabic text should not depend on its English counterpart especially in predication structure. English sentences with predicands and predicates

always contain verbs, whereas in Arabic sentences comprising predicands and predicates are usually nominal sentences which contain no verbs. Thus, the example that Beeston analysed may have another counterpart and be translated into Arabic as a verbal sentence “*yu:jadu qaSrun fi: hada: l-maka:n*”. In this structure, *qaSrun* is the subject of the verb and not the predicand. Secondly, analysing predication is preferably based on the relation between the predicand and the predicate. This relation is the information that one of the two elements carries about the other. Usually, the predicate carries the information about the predicand, and the predicand is the better known element to the speaker and the listener, i.e. better defined than the predicate. Consider the following examples:

<i>fi l-be:t Hari:gah</i>	“lit. in the house [is] a fire”
<i>lik wa:Hid w liyyah wa:Hid</i>	“for you one and for me one”
<i>fo:g STu:Hhum dish</i>	“above their roof [is] a [satellite] dish”
<i>be:n il-’aHba:b tusguT il-’ada:b</i>	“among friends there are no protocols”

Sometimes the predicate of a prepositional or circumstantial phrase predicand can be definite. However, it may still be less known than the annex of the preposition and the circumstant. Consider the following examples:

<i>ya: sala:m, li mHammad is-sayya:rah</i>	“oh, great, Mohamad has the new
<i>il-jidi:dah w liyyah il-xurdah</i>	car and I have the old (bad) one”
<i>fi:k iz-ze:n kullah</i>	“in you there is everything good”

6.1.1.2.d. The predicand as a nominal phrase

The predicand can be a nominal phrase. A nominal phrase can be either a nominal annexation phrase (annexed term - annex) or an attributive phrase (attributed term - attribute). Consider the following examples:

The predicand as a nominal annexation phrase:

sayya:rat il-ji:ra:n ansaragat

“the neighbour’s car has been stolen”

walad ʔaxu:k Darabni:

“the son of your brother hit me”

binti: muʔaddabah ze:n

“my daughter is well behaved”

ʔa:mil is-su:ʔ yaʔmal marrate:n

“someone who does something bad once can do it again”

Ha:li: l-lisa:n gili:l l-iHsa:n

“the one with a sweet tongue is less useful”

The predicand as an attributive phrase:

il-be:t il-kibi:r be:tna:

“the big house is ours”

galami: l-jadi:d Da:ʔ

“my new pen is missing”

il-malgu:S min l-Hanash yxa:f min l-Habil “who was bitten by a snake is scared by the rope”

<i>il-mudi:r il jadi:d 'algha: iz-ziya:dah</i>	“the new manager cancelled the bonus”
<i>hada: l-walad waladi:</i>	“this boy is my son”
<i>da:k il-maka:n 'aHsan</i>	“that place is better”

6.1.1.2.e. The predicand as a relative clause

The predicand can be a relative clause. This type of predication structure is common in proverbs and sayings. The relatives are, *min/man*, *'illi*: (cf .5.2.). Consider the following examples:

<i>min xallaf ma: ma:t</i>	“he who has children never dies”
<i>min 'akbar lugmatah ?anS</i>	“he who takes a big bite [will] choke”
<i>min gaDa: de:nah na:matt ?e:nah</i>	“he who pays his loan his eye will sleep”
<i>min ga:l kallmat il-Hagg ma: xa:b</i>	“he who says the right word will not fail”
<i>'illi: yis?a: b il-xe:r be:n in-na:s yna:l Hubbuhum</i>	“he who does good among people gets their love”
<i>'illi: ydaxxin yijlis bra:</i>	“those who smoke [should] stay out”

<i>'illi: yiz'al min la:sh yirDa: min la:sh</i>	“he who gets mad at nothing, gets satisfied at nothing”
<i>'illi: ma yi'rif iS-Sagr yishwi:h</i>	“he who does not know the falcon grills it (i.e. said of someone who cannot distinguish things”

6.1.1.2.f. The predicand as a verbal clause

The predicand can be a verbal clause. Consider the following examples:

<i>'ag'ud fi: be:ti: wa rabbi: 'wa:li:</i>	“staying at home and raising my
<i>'aHsan li:</i>	children [is] better for me”

<i>tibki: da l-Hi:n w taDHak ba'ade:n</i>	“crying now and laughing later
<i>'aHsan min innik taDHak da l-Hi:n</i>	[is] better than laughing now
<i>w tibki: ba'ade:n</i>	and crying later”

6.1.2. The predicate

The predicate is the part of the predication structure that provides information about the predicand.

6.1.2.1. Definiteness

The predicate is usually indefinite. However, the predicate can be a personal pronoun or demonstrative, a noun with the definite article in some proverbs, and a noun modified by an annex. Consider the following examples of definite predicates:

In proverbs:

<i>il-be:t il-marah, w il-me:r id-drah,</i>	“lit. the home [is] the woman,
---	--------------------------------

w il-ma:l ir-rajjal

and the wheat [is] the corn,
and the money [is] the man”

il-be:ʔ il-falas

“lit. selling [is] losing, (this proverb is
used when one is not happy about
something that was done)”

The predicate annexed to a noun or a bound pronoun:

ha:di: bint ʔammi:

“this is my cousin”

ʔali: ʔaxu:ha:

“Ali is her brother”

ha:di: lu ʔbati:

“this is my doll”

The predicate as a demonstrative or a free pronoun:

galami: ha:da:

“my pen is this”

ʔa:laha: hiyyah

“it is her”

6.1.2.2. The categories of the predicate

The predicate can be a noun, a pronoun, a prepositional or a circumstantial phrase, or a nominal or verbal clause.

6.1.2.2.a. The predicate as a noun

Predicate can be a substantive or a verbal derivative. Consider the following examples:

The predicate as a substantive:

ha:da: mHammad

“this is Mohammad”

Salwa: marah

“Salwa is a woman (i.e. she is wise like a young lady)”

ha:di: sayya:rah

“this is a new car”

The predicate as a verbal derivative:

il-ja:hil ‘aʕma:

“the ignorant is blind”

il-jaww ba:rid

“the weather is cold”

il-mdarris fa:him

“the teacher is understanding”

‘ummi: msa:frah

“my mother is travelling (away)”

tya:bik maghsu:lah

“your clothes are washed”

*il-byu:t mkabbarah w il-’aHwa:l
msattarah*

“lit. houses [are] magnified
and situations [are] hidden,
(i.e. some people seem to
have a rich life but they do not)”

6.1.2.2.b. The predicate as a pronoun

The predicate can occasionally be a free personal pronoun or demonstrative.

Consider the following examples:

The predicate as free a personal pronoun:

ana: huwah

“I am him”

‘a:lha: hiyyah

“it is her”

innaha: hiyyah

“it is her”

The predicate as a demonstrative:

'inti: ha:di 'illi: fi S-Su:rah “you are this one in the picture”

'a:lah de:h “it is him”

'a:ni: te:k law-walah “I am that old one”

Locative demonstratives can also function regularly as predicates. Consider the following examples:

'ana: hinah “I am here

be:tna: hiniyya:k “our house is over there”

6.1.2.2.c. The predicate as a nominal phrase

The predicand can be a noun modified by an annex or attribute.

ʔali: 'axu:yah “Ali is my brother”

xa:lid walad zu:jati: “Khalid is the son of my wife”

il-buxl ʔado: il-marjalah “lit. stinginess [is] the enemy of
the good man”

ha:di: sayya:rah jidi:dah “this is a new car”

6.1.2.2.d. The predicate as a prepositional or circumstantial phrase

Prepositional and circumstantial phrases can function as predicates as well as predicands (cf. 6.1.1.2.c.). Usually the annexes of prepositional and circumstantial phrases are definite. Consider the following examples:

The predicate as a prepositional phrase:

il-ʔuwa:l fi l-madrasah “the children [are] at school”

*la: ʔali: fi l-mizba: w la: ʔaHmad
yiSi:H* “Ali [is not] in the cradle and
Ahmad [is not] crying”

Tala:gati: ʔale:sh ya: jaddah “lit. my strength is against you
grandmother (this means that
some people show their power to
a weaker group of people)”

ba:ridin ʔala: maTannin “lit. cold on colder, (this refers to
the person who does not care to
listen to advisers)”

The predicate as a circumstantial phrase:

be:thum janb il-mustashfa: “their house [is] near the
hospital”

il-ja:r gabl id-da:r “the neighbour before the house,
(i.e. ask about the neighbour
before you ask about the new
house)”

Circumstants can function as the predicate. For example:

ʔana: taHt “I [am] down stairs”

ʔa:lah bara: “he [is] out”

6.1.2.2.e. The predicate as a nominal clause

The predicate can be a nominal clause. Consider the following examples:

il-walad nafsiyyatah ta'ba:nah “the boy’s psychology is ill”

'uxtish Halgaha: yDi:mha: “your sister, her throat is hurting
her”

Usually a nominal clause predicate should have a pronominal reference to the predicand as with the bound pronouns *-ah*, *-ha:* in the above examples.

6.1.2.2.f. The predicate as a verbal clause

The predicate can be a verbal clause. The verb in the verbal clause usually agrees in number and gender with the predicand. Consider the following examples:

iT-Ta:bu:r yo:Sal ila: 'a:xir “sometimes the queue
ish-sha:ri? 'aHya:nan reaches the end of the road”

kull sinn yiDHak l sinnah “ lit. every age smiles to its
age (i.e. people of the same age
like to deal with each other)”

il-ḥimma:l yishtaghlu:n bara: “the workmen are working outside”

zami:lati: kallamatish 'ams “my friend talked to you yesterday”

He:dah Sa:datt Tayre:n “one stone hit two birds”

ʔaru:s turguS l nafsaha: “lit. a bride dancing for herself
(this refers to one who flatters himself)”

6.1.3. The pre-predication particles

Some particles occur before a predication structure. These particles vary in their functions in the predication structure. They have different semantic meanings as well as syntactic functions. Some of these particles are related to the whole predication structure and others are only related to the predicand where the predicand cannot occur without them. These particles are discussed in detail below and in the chapter on particles (cf. Chapter 4).

6.1.3.1. The particle *ha:l* and its sociological variants *'a:l*, *'a:y*, and *'a:.*

ha:l, *'a:l*, *'a:y* and *'a:* (cf. 4.2.) are used before the predication structure to emphasise the information that is produced about the predicand. They carry the sense of surprise and sometimes sarcasm. These particles can occur before all types of predicand except free pronouns. Consider the following examples:

<i>'a:l binti: te:h</i>	“this is my daughter”
<i>'a:y hiniyya:k 'arDin ze:nah</i>	“there is a good land over there”
<i>'a:y 'induhum 'urssin <u>da</u> l-yo:m</i>	“they have a wedding party today”
<i>'a:l fi: niyyati: 'aji:kum</i>	“it is in my mind to come to you, (i.e. I am thinking to visit you”

Only with these particles, bound pronouns can function as the predicand. Consider the following examples:

<i>'a:lah waladik</i>	“he is your son”
<i>'a:lah byiji:kum</i>	“he is giong to come to you”

ha:lha: kidah

“it is just like that”

6.1.3.2. The particles *fi:h* and *ba:/bah*

fi:h and *ba:/bah* are usually used as a pre-predicand particles (cf. 4.3.). They are related to the predicand. They occur before indefinite nouns to make it possible to start with an indefinite predicand (cf. 6.1.1.1.). They assure the fact that is introduced in the predication astructure. Consider the following examples:

fi:h masha:kil be:nhum

“there are problems between them”

fi:h bassah fi: sayya:ratk

“there is a cat in your car”

fi:h waHdah tibgha: tixayyiT

“there is a woman wants to make dress with you”

ʔindish

fi:h and *ba:/bah* can be sometimes used before definite items such as locative demonstratives, prepositional and circumstantial phrases to show more emphasis (cf. 4.2., 6.1.1.2.b.). Consider the following examples:

fi:h hinah sirgah

“ther is a theft here”

fi:h hna:k maka:n

“there is a place there”

fi:h ʔindaha: ma: yisiddaha:

“there is enough with her”

bah taHtina ʔaza:biyyah

ʔaz ʔaju:na:

“there are single men [living] down there annoying us”

fi:h fi l-majlis rja:l

“there are men in the sitting
room”

ba: fi T-Tari:g mugTat tafti:sh

“there is on the road a police
check point”

fi:h in particular can occur as predicand in some cases. consider the following examples:

fi:h l-awra:g law-walah bass

“there are only the old papers”

fi:h maratah law-walah

“there is his first wife [available]”

6.1.3.3. The particle *gid*

gid is used as a pre-predication particle mainly to emphasise the information held in the predication structure (cf. 4.1.). It mainly assures the change and the result that happened or will happen. Consider the following examples:

gid ʔwa:lha: kulluhum yidrusu:n

“all her children are studying (i.e.
they are at school”

gidik rajja:l

“you have [become] a [young]
man”

gid il-mada:ris btibda:

“schools will start (soon)”

gid can function as a question device in the predication structure. Consider the following examples:

gid ʔursuhum giri:b?

“is their wedding near?”

gid bintaha: Ha:mi?

“is her daughter [become]
pregnant?”

gid in the previous examples is optional since the same questions can occur without being preceded by *gid*.

6.1.4. The order of the predicand and the predicate

The word order of the predicand and the predicate in Abha Arabic can be realised in two cases: the unmarked case is where the predicand precedes the predicate, and the marked case is where the predicand follows the predicate.

6.1.4.1. The unmarked case

The unmarked case where the predicand precedes the predicate is the usual order. The predicand precedes the predicate to avoid ambiguity. Ambiguity could be caused if the predicand and the predicate are both definite. In some contexts, the predicand and the predicate are both definite and may be inverted. In this case, the first constituent should be considered the predicand and the second the predicate. We can notice a slightly different meaning between the two contexts referring to the information that is carried by the predicate. Consider the following examples. The predicand is highlighted in bold:

‘aHmad il-mudi:r

“Ahmad [is] the manager”

il-mudi:r ‘aHmad

“the manager [is] Ahmad”

sami:rah ‘uxtaha:

“Sameerah [is] her sister”

‘uxtaha: sami:rah

“her sister [is] Sameerah”

ha:da: galami:

“this [is] my pen”

galami: ha:da:

“my pen [is] this[one]”

6.1.4.2. The marked case

Here the predicand necessarily follows the predicate. There are different situations where the predicand follows the predicate,

1. When the predicand is preceded by *'illa:* or *ghe:r* which mean “only”, the predicate precedes the predicand. Consider the following examples, the predicand is highlighted in bold:

ma: T-Tayyib 'illa: 'ali:

“lit. no good but only Ali”

ma: 'aTa:k wajh 'illa: 'ana:

“lit, nobody gave you a face but me (i.e. treat you well)”

ma: l-ghina: 'illa: ghina n-nafs

“wealth is only in satisfaction”

*ma: yaDHak b n-na:s 'illa:
'axass in-na:s*

“nobody laughs at people other than
the worst people”

ma: yiksir il-He:d ghe:r 'uxtaha:

“lit. nothing can break the stone but
its sister (i.e. another stone)”

*ma: nafa'ni: fi: 'a:zati: ghe:r
sa:gi:*

“nothing helped me in my need but
my leg”

*ma: yiHmil iT-Tarafe:n 'illa:
il-wasaT*

“lit, nothing carries the two edges but
the middle”

2. The predicate can occur first to attract more emphasis. Usually the predicate in this case is an adjectival or adjectival phrase. Consider the following examples:

<i>maski:n ʔA:yiD ʔanfaSal min</i>	“poor [is] ʔAyiD, he has been fired
<i>waDi:fatah w aDunn</i>	from his job and I think he has four
<i>ʔale:h ʔarbʔat ʔwa:l</i>	children”

<i>Ha:rr <u>de:h</u> il-ma:</i>	“it is hot, this water”
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<i>kibi:rin marrah be:tkum <u>de:h</u></i>	“It is very big, your house”
--	------------------------------

Sometimes, fronted adjectivals can be separated from their adverbs by the predicand.

Consider the following examples:

<i>Tayyibah ʔuxtish marrah</i>	“she is nice, your sister, very [nice]”
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<i>gidi:m <u>de:h</u> biziya:dah</i>	“It is old, this, very (negative connotation)”
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In greetings where the predicate is a participle, the predicate may precede the predicand. Consider the following examples:

<i>mabru:k il-walad</i>	“blessed be the [new born] boy”
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<i>mabru:k il-be:t</i>	“blessed be the house”
------------------------	------------------------

3. When the predicate is a question word, it precedes the predicand (cf. 5.3.).

Consider the following examples:

<i>fe:n ant?</i>	“where are you?”
<i>ke:f Ha:lish?</i>	“how are you?”
<i>e:sh ismaha:?</i>	“what is her name?”
<i>mata: l-imtiHana:t?</i>	“when are the exams?”
<i>min illi: ga:lah?</i>	“who said it?”
<i>min hu: Haggah?</i>	“whose is this?”

6.1.5. Topical clauses

Topical clauses are defined by Watson (1993:130) as “clauses in which an initial noun phrase or substantivised verb phrase, prepositional phrase or clause functions as a topic and is followed by a comment about the topic”. The comment functions as the predicate of the topic and it is, at the same time, an embedded predication which has its own predicand. The main verb or adjective in the comment does not inflect to agree with the topic but with the predicand of the comment (Cowell 1964: 429, Watson 1993: 130). Usually, the comment contains an anaphoric pronoun which refers back to the topic. Consider the following examples of topical clauses in Abha Arabic. The comments are highlighted in bold:

<i>shanTatsh lu:nha: she:n</i>	“your bag, its color is ugly”
<i>dari:n ‘ummaha: bta‘Ti:ha:</i>	“Dareen, her mother will give her”

<i>be:tkum 'aṭa:ṭah jadi:d</i>	“your house, its furniture is new”
<i>'ali: 'abu:h gid 'aṭTa:h is-sayya:rah</i>	“Ali, his father gave him the car”
<i>'anti 'axwa:nish Tayyibi:n</i>	“you, your brothers are kind”
<i>iz-Za:mil hu: il-mudi:r il-jidi:d</i>	“al-Zamil is the new manager”
<i>wajhik shaklah mahu ze:n</i>	“your face, its look is not good (i.e. you have bad news)”
<i>kala:mik kann fi:h shay</i>	“your talk, it seems that there is something in it”

6.1.6. One predicand and more than one predicate

In Abha Arabic as in classical Arabic and other Arabic dialects, the predicand can take more than one predicate. All the predicates relate to the predicand and agree with it. These predicates can be connected by a conjunction or by nothing at all. Consider the following examples where predicates are connected by conjunctions, the predicand and the predicates are divided by a dash and the predicates by a slash:

<i>huwah - ra'i:s il gism /w muHa:Dir fi: nafs il wagt</i>	“he is the department head and a lecturer in the same time”
<i>'abu:h - ghani: /w lah sulTah</i>	“his father is rich and he has a power”

<i>mHammad - kallam / w biyiji:</i>	“Mohamad has phoned and he will come”
<i>ʕindana: - 'ahli: / w 'aʕma:mi:</i> <i>ʕal l-ʕasha: da l-yo:m</i>	“we have my family and my uncles to dinner today”

Consider the following examples where the predicates are not connected by a conjunction:

The two predicates are adjectives:

<i>'int - ghanin / bixi:l</i>	“you are rich [but] stingy”
<i>'a:lah - Tiwi:l / mdabbab</i>	“he is a tall, fat”

There can be more than two predicates:

<i>il-usta:d il-jidi:d - mumta:z</i> <i>/ Tayyib /ba:lah wasi:ʕ maʕa</i> <i>T-Tulla:b</i>	“the new teacher is excellent, kind, and patient with the students”
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The predicates are not necessarily from the same category:

<i>sayya:rati: - xarba:nah</i> <i>/ ma tishtighil illa: b in-nakad</i>	“my car is broken down, it does not work except with difficulty”
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The predicates can be verb phrases:

<i>id-daktu:r - kashaf ʕale:h</i> <i>/ ga:l ma: ʕindah shay</i>	“the doctor examined him, [and] he said he has no problem”
--	--

6.1.7. The omission of the predicand

As we have seen above (cf 6.1.6.), there can be more than one predicate for one predicand. We can see that the predicand does not need to be repeatedly mentioned with each predicate. In this case the omitted predicand should have a previous textual reference. Consider the following examples:

<i>xa:lid - ja:na: / w ʔallam lina:</i>	“Khalid came to us and told
<i>b il-ʔazi:mah / w gal lina</i>	us about the invitation and
<i>nitjahhaz /w baʔde:n ra:H</i>	asked us to get ready, then
<i>l ʔabu:h ya:xudāh min</i>	he went to his father to pick
<i>il-warshah</i>	him up from the workshop”
<i>ʔwa:li: - rajaʔaw min il-madrasah</i>	“my children came from school
<i>da l-yo:m is-sa:ʔah tinte:n /</i>	today at two o’clock, they had
<i>taghaddaw / w ragadaw ila:</i>	their lunch and slept till four
<i>s-sa:ʔah ʔarbaʔah / ma: ga:mo:</i>	o’clock [they] did not wake up
<i>li ila: b in-nakad / ga:maw</i>	for me but with difficulty,
<i>yitDa:rabu:n aktar min ma:</i>	then they started fighting more
<i>yada:kru:n</i>	than studying”
<i>zu:jha: - maski:n / mitbahdil</i>	“her husband is poor [he is]
<i>b ʔæwa:nah iS-Sigha:r</i>	troubled by his younger
<i>/ ʔummaḥ w ʔabu:h mayyi:ti:n</i>	brothers his mother and father
<i>/ w ra:tbah shwayyah / w ma:</i>	have died, his income is small
<i>yidri: e:sh ysawwi: bhum</i>	and [he] does not know what to
	do with them.”

The predicand can also be omitted without previous textual reference if the reference can be understood from the situation. Consider the following examples where the predicates are highlighted in bold:

In answering questions:

Q- *ke:f Ha:lik?*

“how are you?”

A- *mabsu:T*

“well”

Q- *min ‘illi: ka:n maʕak?*

“who were with you?”

A- *xa:lid*

“Khalid”

Q- *ke:f ʕa:d jaddik?*

“how is your grandfather (now)?”

A- *mari:D w yna:siʕ il-mo:t*

“[he is] sick and fighting death”

Q- *ke:f ‘imtiHa:nik da l-yo:m?*

“how was your exam today?”

A- *ka:n Saʕb marrah*

“it was very difficult”

In talking about the whole situation

basT

“happiness (i.e. the situation is making them happy)”

Harr bass fi:h ruTu:bah

“hot but humid”

taʕab bass saʕa:dah

“tiredness but happiness (i.e. tired but happy)”

ʕizʕa:j

“noise (i.e. there is noise around)”

6.1.8. Agreement

The predicate shows agreement in number and gender with the predicand in many cases. However, there are some cases where the predicate agrees neither in number nor in gender. Consider the following cases of the agreement and disagreement between the predicand and the predicate:

1. If the predicand is masculine and singular, the predicate will agree with the gender and the number of the predicand. Consider the following examples:

<i>ʔali: ʔaxu:yah</i>	“Ali is my brother”
<i>ha:da: mdarris</i>	“this is a teacher”
<i>il-jaww mghayyim</i>	“the weather is cloudy”
<i>il-be:t kibi:r</i>	“the house is big”
<i>ʔabu:yah Sa:Hi:</i>	“my father is awake”
<i>zami:li: de:h</i>	“my friend is this”
<i>kta:bi: diya:k</i>	“my book is that [one]”
<i>ha:da: walad ʔaxu:yah</i>	“this is my brother’s son (nephew)”
<i>ʔali: yda:kir fi: ghurfatah</i>	“Ali is studying in his room”

2. If the predicand is an animate masculine plural noun, the predicate will agree in number and gender. Consider the following examples:

<i>ʔumma:li: filibi:niyyi:n</i>	“my employees are Philippines”
<i>do:la: muhandisi:n fi sh-sharikah</i>	“those are architects in the company”
<i>ji:ra:nik Tayyibi:n marrah</i>	“your neighbours are so kind”
<i>du:la: mintadri:n min zama:n</i>	“those have been waiting for long time”
<i>il-ʔuwa:l ja:yʔi:n</i>	“the children are hungry”

il-Hara:miyah do:le:h

“the burglars are these”

‘ahli: yitghaddo:n

“my family are having lunch”

in-na:s kala:mhum kaṭi:r

“lit. the people, their talk is a lot”

If the predicand is inanimate plural, the predicate does not show agreement in number or gender. As in classical Arabic and most Arabic dialects, the inanimate masculine plural predicand usually takes a feminine singular predicate. Consider the following examples:

il-kutub ṭigi:lah

“the books are heavy” m.p. = f.s.

il-kila:b ja:yʔah

“the dogs are hungry” m.p. = f.s.

il-kila:b tinbaH

“the dogs are barking” m.p. = f.s.

il-byu:t te:h

“the houses are these” m.p. = f.s.

3. The predicate agrees with the predicand if the predicand is a feminine singular animate or inanimate noun. Consider the following examples:

gid sami:rah mudi:rah

“Sameerah is [became] a manager”

‘uxti: na:ymah

“my sister is sleeping”

is-sayya:rah jadi:dah

“the car is new”

mdarrisati: haḍi:k

“my teacher is that [one]”

daftarish de:h

“your notebook is this [one]”

ʔammati: galbaha: Tayyib

“lit. my Aunt’s heart is good (i.e. she is a kind person)”

jami:lah tkallim fi t-talifo:n

“Jameelah is on the phone”

4. The predicate agrees with a feminine plural predicand if it is animate only.

Consider the following examples:

bana:ti: mdarrisa:t

“my daughters are teachers”

ha:do:la: zami:la:tha:

“those are her friends”

il-niswa:n ʔarta:ra:t

“women are talking alot”

iT-Ta:lba:t mtgaddima:t fi t-ʔaʔli:m “the [female] students are improving
in education

However, some adjectivals do not agree with the gender of the feminine plural predicand. They take the broken plural form or the masculine plural form. Consider the following examples:

xa:la:tha: Twa:l

“her aunts are tall”

ʔaxwa:tish rgu:d

“your sisters are sleeping”

il-bana:t taʔba:ni:n

“the girls are tired”

If the predicand is inanimate plural, the predicate will be feminine singular. Consider the following examples:

ir-riHla:t Sba:Hiyyah

“the flights are in the morning”

<i>id-dafa:tir il-jadi:dah gha:liyah</i>	“the new notebooks are expensive”
<i>il-maHalla:t magfu:lah</i>	“the shops are closed”
<i>sayyara:thum yaba:niyyah</i>	“their cars are Japanese (i.e. made in Japan)”
<i>il-ʿaSa:fi:r ba:rdah bara:</i>	“the birds are cold outside”
<i>il-Hafla:t tgu:m kull Se:f</i>	“the parties are held every summer”
<i>shif shinaTha: te:h</i>	“see, her bags are this (these)”

6.2 Conclusion

In the light of studying predication structure in classical Arabic and in Abha Arabic, we may conclude that the relationship between the two components of the predication structure, the predicand and the predicate, is such that the entire utterance is informative. The job of the predicate is to present information about the predicand. The predicand in Abha Arabic usually heads the predication structure except in few cases (cf. 6.1.4.). It is also definite in most cases (cf. 6.1.1.1.). The predicand can be a noun, participle, free personal pronoun, demonstrative, prepositional or circumstantial phrase, nominal or verbal phrase, or a clause (cf. 6.1.1.2.). The predicate usually follows the predicand except where it necessarily precedes it (cf. 6.1.4.). It is usually definite (cf. 6.1.2.1.). It can be a substantive, participle, free personal pronoun, demonstrative, prepositional or circumstantial phrase, a nominal or verbal clause (cf. 6.1.2.2.). The predicand can take more than one predicate and may be omitted in some cases (cf. 6.1.6., 6.1.7.). The predicate usually shows agreement with the predicand in number and gender (cf. 6.1.8.).

Chapter Seven

Annexation

An annexation phrase is composed of two immediately adjacent nominal or noun-type terms (Cowell 1964: 455). The idea of annexation in classical Arabic is to add a noun, *al-muDa:f*, to a following noun, *al-muDa:f ilayh*. The function of annexation is to define or determine the preceding noun, and /or shorten the preceding noun in its pronunciation by omitting the *tanwi:n* (cf. 2.3.1.) or the termination *n* in the dual and sound masculine plural (Ibnu-Ya'ï:sh (n.d.): I 118-119, V 7, cf. 2 in 7.2.1.).

7.1. Definition

Arab grammarians called the preceding noun in an annexation phrase *al-muDa:f* “the added [noun]”, and the following noun *al-muDa:f ilayh* “[the noun] which is added to”. Consider the following examples in classical Arabic:

Tulla:bu l-ʕilmi “the knowledge seekers”

jama:lu l-Hurriyati “the beauty of freedom”

According to the Arab grammarians’ definition, ‘*al-muDa:f* in the above examples are *Tulla:bu* and *jama:lu*, and *al-muDa:f ilayh* are *ʕilmi* and *al-Hurriyati*.

The Arab grammarians believe that the preceding noun is added to the following noun to be determined or defined (Ghalayyini: 1993: III 206, ʕI:d 1991: 545-546). In fact, I think that these used terms cause ambiguity and do not reflect the

function of the two nouns. The noun which is in need of another noun is the first one (the preceding noun), in this case it is the noun to which we add something, whereas the second noun (the following noun) is the noun which we bring to the sentence, so, it is this noun which is added. I believe that the first noun is *'al-muDa:f ilayh* (the noun which is added to), and the following noun is *'al-muDa:f* (the added noun). The following nouns control the definiteness and determination of the preceding noun. For example, if we say:

ha:da: kita:bun

“this is a book”

kita:bu is indefinite in this sentence, but, if we say:

ha:da: kitabu 'axi:

“this is my brother’s book”

kita:bu in the second context is more specific because of the noun we added in the sentence. Thus, if we want to make more specification we add a following noun to add definition to the first noun. Besides, we usually add the lesser to the greater, in other words we add a noun to a sentence, so we add a following noun to a preceding noun which already occurs in the context. There are some terms used by western grammarians to denote these two nouns. Cowell (1964: 455) refers to the preceding noun as a leading noun and the following noun as a following term, Wright (1898: II 198) refers to the preceding noun as the annexed, and the following term as the determining term, and Watson (1993: 173) refers to the preceding noun as the annexed term and the following noun as the annex. In this study, I follow Watson in referring to the preceding noun as the *annexed term* and the following noun as the *annex*. The annexed term is the preceding noun which needs to be defined or determined, and the annex is the following noun (could be a bound pronoun) which could be definite or indefinite and defines or determines the preceding (the annexed) noun.

7.2. Annexation structure in Abha Arabic

There are two types of annexation phrases in Abha Arabic:

- a) Nominal annexation
- b) Prepositional and circumstantial annexation

7.2.1. Nominal annexation

Nominal annexation includes two elements: the annexed term and the annex. The annex is annexed to the preceding annexed term. This annexation influences the annexed term in two cases:

- 1) It defines or determines the annexed term which is usually indefinite.

Consider the following examples:

<i>be:t</i>	“a house”
<i>be:t il-ji:ra:n</i>	“the neighbour’s house”

In the first example *be:t* is indefinite, whereas in the second example it is defined by *il-ji:ra:n*.

2) In classical Arabic, *tanwi:n* and the termination *n* are usually omitted from the annexed term in annexation structure (ʔI:d 1991: 546). In Abha Arabic, *tanwi:n* is omitted only if the annexed term is not an adjectival or a participle. If it is an adjectival or a participle, *tanwi:n* may remain in some cases (cf. 2.2.2.2, 2.3.1). The termination *n*, on the other hand, is not usually omitted. Consider the following examples where the annexed terms are highlighted in bold:

<i>mdarrisi:n il-madrasah HaDaro:</i>	“the school’s teachers attended”
<i>mwaDDafi:n il-jama:rik ʔaTTalo:hum</i>	“customs employees made them late”

The masculine dual also keeps its final *n* in context as in:

'ashtare:t xa:tme:n dahab "I bought two golden rings"

'axad kta:be:nha: "he took her two books"

Sometimes the masculine dual losses its final *n*. This usually occurs where the annexed term refers to something which has no plural form. Consider the following examples:

'alla:h yirHam wa:lde:h "God bless his parents"

xallah nuSb 'e:ne:k "lit. let it before your eyes, make it your aim"

'ana: be:n e:de:k "lit. I am between your hands, I am at your service"

hadi: e:de: 'ali: "this is Ali's hands"

As in Yemeni Arabic (Watson 1993: 173-174) and many other Arabic dialects, where the annexed terms has final *-ah*, *-ah* is replaced by the allomorph *-at*. For example:

'ma:rah "a building"

'ma:rat 'ammi: "my uncle's building"

marah "a woman"

marati: "my wife"

7.2.1.1. Definiteness

The annexed term in nominal annexation does not take the definite article nor can it be an inherently definite. It cannot be a proper noun, demonstrative, or pronoun. The annex, on the other hand, can be either definite or indefinite. The annexation phrase in a nominal annexation structure can be considered as definite (cf. 2.3.2.). Consider the following examples of annexation phrases with definite and indefinite annexes. Annexes are highlighted in bold:

Definite annex:

<i>madrasat il-ʕwa:l</i>	“the boys’ school”
<i>ʕida:ʕat ir-riya:D</i>	“Riyadh radio”
<i>bint xa:li:</i>	“my uncle’s daughter (i.e. my cousin)”
<i>dra:satha:</i>	“her studies”

Indefinite annex:

<i>tu:b silk</i>	“ a silk [man’s] dress”
<i>gma:sh guTun</i>	“a cotton cloth”
<i>bjanbi: ʕarD ja:r</i>	“next to me is a neighbour’s land”
<i>de:h be:t xibla:n</i>	“this is a house of crazy [people]”
<i>waDi:fatah ka:tib maHkamah</i>	“his job is a court writer [clerk]”
<i>ʕittafagt maʕa ta:jir jumlah</i>	“I had a deal with a wholesale dealer”

kala:m 'aTfa:l

“children’s speech (i.e. nonsense speech)”

As mentioned above, the annex if indefinite determines or specifies the annexed term, whereas if definite, it defines the annex. Consider the difference in the following examples:

shiribt finja:l gahwah

“I drank a cup of coffee”

*finja:l il-gahwah ‘illi: shiribtah
SaHSaHni:*

“the cup of coffee that I drank
woke me up”

gahwah in the first example determines the kind of drink, not tea, milk, etc. In the second example, *il-gahwah* defines a particular cup of coffee that the speaker had.

7.2.1.2. The categories of the annexed term

As in classical Arabic, the annexed term in nominal annexation is usually a noun. The noun may be a substantive (not usually a proper noun), verbal derivative (active and passive participle or adjectival) or verbal noun. Consider the following examples:

The annexed term as a substantive:

bjanb madrasat il-bana:t

“near to the girls’ school”

zawa:j bint ‘ammi:

“the wedding of my cousin”

abha: madi:nat il-jama:l

“Abha, the city of beauty”

The annexed term as a verbal derivatives:

<i>fe:nhu: ra:ʔi: l-maHall?</i>	“where is he, the owner of the shop?”
<i>‘ana: Sa:Hib il-Hagg hinah</i>	“I am the one who has the right here”

The annexed noun as a verbal noun:

<i>ha:da: suwwa: ‘e:diyyah</i>	“this is my hands making”
<i>ma: ‘aHibb illa: Tabi:x ‘ummi:</i>	“I do not like [anything] but my mother’s cooking”

7.2.1.3. The categories of the annex

The annex can be as a noun (a substantive or verbal derivative) or a bound pronoun.

The verbal derivatives are usually definite and function as basic nouns in this case.

Consider the following examples:

The annex as a substantive:

<i>ha:da: mabna: baladiyyat abha</i>	“this is the building of Abha municipality”
<i>‘ahl baʔlaha: maʔaha: fi l-be:t</i>	“her husband’s family is with her at home”
<i>hada: walad ʔammi:</i>	“this is my cousin”

The annex as a verbal derivative:

<i>he:h la: tda:ri:nha: ʔalasha:n</i>	“hey, do not treat her in a special
<i>innha: bint il-mudi:rah</i>	way because she is the daughter
	of the [school] director”

<i>fe:n Hadd il-ga:til?</i>	“where is the murder punishment?”
<i>ha:di: Hijja:t iD-Di:f</i>	“this is the weaker [person] defence...”
<i>ma: ʔale:k ha: da: bass tanfi:s il-maghu:r</i>	“do not worry, this is just a defeated [man]’s relief”
<i>du:la:k ʔuwa:l il-magtu:l</i>	“those are the murdered one’s sons”
<i>ha:da: shughul il-mudarrabi:n?</i>	“is this the work of trained [people]?”
<i>ha:di: ghurfat il-kibi:r</i>	“this is the oldest [son]’s room”
<i>in sha: ʔalla:h bmuHDur ʔurs iS-Sghayyirah</i>	“by God well, we will attend the youngest [daughter’s] wedding”
<i>do:la: ʔuwa:l l-awwalah</i>	“those are the first [wife’s] children”

The annex as a bound pronoun:

<i>ha:da: waladah</i>	“this is his son”
<i>ha:da: ma: hu: shughli:</i>	“this is not my business”
<i>ga:balt ʔabu:k ʔams</i>	“I met your father yesterday”

maka:nish ma:hu: ze:n

“your place [where you sit] is not good”

7.2.1.4. Annexed term and annex strings

An annexed term can take more than one annex in an annexation phrase. In this case the annexes are linked by a coordinator. Consider the following examples:

*ha:di: bint 'ammi: w xa:lati: fi
nafs il-wagt*

“she is the daughter of my
uncle and my aunt at the
same time”

*hu yi 'rif maTa: 'im abha w
il-xami:s*

“he knows the restaurants of
Abha and al-Khami:s”

In some cases, the final annex takes an anaphoric pronoun which refers to the first annex. Consider the following examples:

'aSlah be:t sami:rah w zo:jha:

“in fact, it is Sami:rah and her
husband’s house”

*ha:da: wa:jib iT-Tulla:b w
mdarrisi:nhum*

“this is the student’s and their
teachers’ responsibilities”

More than one annexed term can occur in an annexation phrase with a single annex.

The annexed terms are linked by a coordinator. Consider the following example:

*HaDar 'ami:r w na:'ib
il-manTigah*

“the governor and the deputy of
the province attended”

In some cases, the annex occurs between two annexed terms. The second annexed term usually takes an anaphoric pronoun referring to the first annexed term. For example:

<i>HaDar 'ami:r il-manTigah w</i>	“the governor of the province and
<i>na: 'ibah</i>	his deputy attended”

An annexation structure can comprise several embedded annexation phrases. Consider the following example:

<i>walad bint shari:kat 'uxti</i>	“the son of the daughter of my sister’s
	co-wife”

To analyse this context, we will start from the last annexation phrase then show its relation with the preceding annexed terms,

(walad (bint (shari:kat ('uxti:))))

(‘uxti:) is an annexation phrase consisting of the noun *'uxt* and the bound pronoun *i:.*

(shari:kat 'uxti:) is an annexation phrase consisting of the annexed term *shari:kat* and

the annex *'uxti:.* *(bint shari:kat 'uxti:)* is an annexation phrase consisting of the

annexed term *bint* and the annex *shari:kat 'uxti:.* *(walad bint shari:kat 'uxti:)* is an

annexation phrase consists of the main annexed term *walad* and the annex *bint*

shari:kat 'uxti:.

Similarly:

<i>(waragat (tasji:l (milkiyyat (be:t ('ummi:))))</i>	“the registration paper of
	ownership of my mother’s
	house”

shari:kat in the first example and *milkiyyat* in the other example are originally nouns

with final *-ah*. *-ah* is replaced by *-at* if the noun functions as an annexed term (cf. 2. in

7.2.1.). Thus *shari:kat* and *mikiyyat* are annexed terms not annexes in the above examples. We can conclude that an annexation phrase can function as an annex and define or determine a preceding annexed noun.

7.2.1.5. Agreement

An annex does not agree with the gender or number of the annexed term. Consider the following examples:

ra:Haw mazra'at 'xwa:lhun “they went to their uncles’ farm”

shuft manhaj il-madrasah? “did you see the school syllabus?”

If the annexation phrase is followed by an attribute, this attribute usually modifies the annexed term and agrees with it in number and gender. Consider the following examples where the attribute is highlighted in bold:

'axadaw 'afsh 'abu:hun il-gidi:m “they took their father’s old
furniture”

'axadt jadwal il-HuSaS il-jidi:d? “did you take the courses’ new
schedule?”

Sometimes, an attribute modifies the annex and agrees with it in number and gender, as in:

shuft barna:mij il-mada:ris “did you see the programme
il-Haku:miyyah? of the government schools”

jatna: zu:jat 'axu:yah il-kibi:r “my oldest brother’s wife came
to us”

7.2.1.6. Relationships expressed by nominal annexation

There are different semantic relationships that are expressed between the annexed term and annex (Cowell 1964: 461, Watson 1993:178-188). The main relationships realised in Abha Arabic include: possession, genitive of partition, genitive of description, and genitive of apposition.

7.2.1.6.a. Possession relationship

The relationship of possession indicates the thing that is possessed by the possessor. It includes possessing inanimate or animate (animals) objects, abstract things, or indicates human relationships. Consider the following examples:

Possession of inanimate objects:

sayya:rat Na:Sir

“Nasir’s car”

flu:s ‘ammik la: yhimik

“[it is] your uncle’s money, do not worry
(i.e. one can spend as much as
he wants if the money is not his)”

ghurfat ‘axu:yah

“my brother’s room”

Possession of animate objects (animals):

ghanamna:

“our sheep”

xyu:l in-na:di

“the club’s horses”

daja:j il-fagi:h

“al-Fagi:h chickens”

Possession of abstract things:

<i>Haya:tah kullaha: bahdalah</i>	“all his life is difficult”
<i>jama:lha ma: fa:dha:</i>	“her beauty did not help her”
<i>rafa:hiyyatna: hiyyah il-mishkilah</i>	“our wealthy life is the problem”
<i>masha:kil ‘ahlaha: kati:rah</i>	“her family’s problems are many”

Human relationships:

<i>ha:di: umm il-mi’ris walla ‘ammatah ?</i>	“is this the mother of the groom or his aunt?”
<i>bint il-‘amm l walad ‘ammaha</i>	“the uncle’s daughter is for her uncle’s son”
<i>xa:l il-walad wa:lid</i>	“the son’s maternal uncle is [his] father”

7.2.1.6.b. Genitive of partition

This relationship indicates that the annexed term is a part of the annex.

Consider the following examples:

<i>byu:t il-Ha:rah</i>	“the area’s houses”
<i>ghuraf il-be:t</i>	“the house’s rooms”
<i>‘a’Da:’ il-jism</i>	“the body’s parts”
<i>kabdat il-ghanam malya:nah Hadi:d</i>	“the sheep’s liver is full of iron”

7.2.1.6.c. Genitive of description

In this kind of relationship, the annex describes the type of the annexed term.

<i>xa:tim dahab</i>	“a golden ring”
<i>sayya:rat toyo:ta</i>	“a Toyota car”
<i>le:lat iz-zawa:j</i>	“the wedding night (party)”
<i>kala:m aT-Tfa:l</i>	“children’s speech”
<i>tu:b Hari:r</i>	“a silk dress”
<i>bint il-be:t</i>	“lit. the house daughter (i.e. a girl who has not been married and has a good reputation)”
<i>‘ayya:m zama:n</i>	“the days of the past”
<i>mkayyifa:t hawa</i>	“air conditioners”
<i>su:g it-tala:ta:</i>	“Tuesday market (a weekly market held every Tuesday)”
<i>kul ‘akl il-jima:l w gum go:mat ir-rija:l</i>	“lit. eat the way camels eat and stand up the way men stand”
<i>ya:kul ‘akl il-wuHu:sh</i>	“he eats the way beasts eat”
<i>iT-Tu:l Tu:l in-naxlah</i>	“length is [like] the length of palm tree”

7.2.1.6.d. Genitive of apposition

The relation of apposition *al-badal* specifies or gives more information about the annexed term. In this type of relationship, the annexed term can sometimes be omitted and replaced by the following annex. Consider the following examples:

mitnawwim fi mustashfa: ʔasi:r “he is sleeping [as a patient] in Assir hospital”

marad is-sukkar ySi:b il-kba:r w S-Sigha:r “Diabetes occurs in the old and the young”

waSlaw yo:m il-xami:s “they arrived on Thursday”

Sale:to: Sala:t iD-Duhr? “did you pray the afternoon prayer?”

ʔaʔrif Ha:rat dirah “I know the dirah area”

There are many other kinds of relationship expressed by annexation in Abha Arabic. Consider the following examples for the relation which indicate the name of jobs:

mudi:r il-madrasah “the school’s manager”

na:ʔib il-baladiyyah “deputy of municipality”

wazi:r iz-zira:ʔah “the agriculture minister”

farra:sh il-maktab “the office cleaner”

bayya:ʔ il-msa:wi:k “the Miswa:k salesman”

Other relationships which indicate place:

<i>mal'ab il-ku:rah</i>	"the football's pitch"
<i>majlas ir-rija:l</i>	"the men's sitting room"
<i>mawgif is-sayya:rah</i>	"the carpark"
<i>ghurfat il-'akil</i>	"the dining room"
<i>saTH il-be:t</i>	"the house roof"
<i>sa:Hil il-baHr</i>	"the sea coast"
<i>maSab il-wa:di:</i>	"the valley bay"

7.2.2. Prepositional Annexation

A prepositional annexation structure usually consists of a preposition and a noun phrase. Si:bawayh considers the relationship between prepositions and their nouns as the relationship between the annexed term (noun) and the annex (Si:bawayh 1977: I 419-421). Although prepositions link the noun after them to the items before them (cf. 4.6.), they are not considered to be coordinators since prepositions always occur with their nouns. Prepositional phrases can function as a single phrase like noun phrases. The similarity between the annex in nominal annexation and the annex in prepositional annexation is that they share the function of adding. The purpose of adding in prepositional annexation is to link the governor to the following noun whereas in the nominal annexation, the annexed term is defined or specified by the annex.

Prepositions in Abha Arabic occur before nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, circumstantial annexation phrases and nominal annexation phrases. Consider the following examples of prepositions in context:

Before a noun with the definite article:

gid rakbaw fi s-sayya:rah?

“did they ride in the car?”

‘amalna: fi l-mudi:r il-jidi:d

“our hope is in the new manager”

*marre:na: ‘ala al-bana:t w
xade:na:hum*

“we passed by the girls and picked them up”

*‘ana: ma:ni baSaddigk le:n
‘asma‘ah min in- Na:Sir*

“I will not believe you until I hear it from NaSir”

*‘int btiji: ma‘a ash-shaba:b
fi l-le:l?*

“are you going to come with the boys tonight?”

Before a pronoun:

hu ka:n sha:kik fi:h

“he was suspicious of him”

sa‘alo: ‘annish il-ji:ra:n

“the neighbours asked about you”

HuTTe:ha: ‘ale:ha:

“put it over it”

binru:H ma‘kum ?

“are we going to go with you”

Before a demonstrative:

‘inti: minSi:r te:h?

“are you talking about this, do you mean this?”

'uktubi: b-de:h

"write with this"

'istafi:di: min ha:di:

"get benefit from this [one]"

'int tis'al 'an ha: da:

"are you asking about this?"

Before a circumstantial annexation phrase:

ruHna: mashi: le: 'induhum

"we went walking to them"

raja'na: min gidda:m il-ba:b

"we came back from the front of
the door"

Ta:H min fo:g is-sillam

"he fell down from the ladder"

shifah 'ala: jihat il-ba:b

"it is on the side where the door is"

Before a nominal annexation phrase:

*jaw min waDa:yifhum is-sa: 'ah
tinte:n*

"they came back from their
work at two o'clock"

ra:H b sayya:rat 'aHmad

"he went in Ahmad's car"

sa:kin fi: sakan il-ja:m'ah

"he lives on the university campus"

*'ana: kunt 'a'a:mlah b Safa:
niyyah*

"I was dealing with him with
honest intention"

Prepositions do not always have a definite separate meaning. The meaning of the preposition can be sometimes understood from the context. Consider the meaning of *ʔala:* in the following examples:

- 1) *Daxalaw ʔale:hum* “lit. they entered to them”
- 2) *Talaʔna: ʔala: is-suTu:H* “lit. we went over the roof”
- 3) *ga:m ʔaHmad ʔala: ʔaxwa:tah yDa:ribhum* “lit. Ahmad started on his sisters fighting with them”
- ga:m ʔala: it-talfizyo:n yixarribah* “lit. he started on the television set ruining it”
- 4) *nazalna: min ʔala: s-suTu:h* “lit. we came down from the roof”

7.2.3 Circumstantial annexation

Circumstants can function like prepositions in being leading terms in an annexation structure, see Si:bawayh (1977: I 419-420). Circumstants differ from prepositions, however, in that they can occur without a following term i.e. in non-annexation structures, and can also function as the annex to a preposition (cf. 5.4.). In Abha Arabic, circumstants indicate time and place (cf. 5.4.1, 5.4.2.). The annex of the circumstant can be a noun, bound pronoun, demonstrative or an annexation phrase. Consider the following examples:

Circumstants followed by a definite noun:

- gaʔadaw da:xil il-be:t* “they sat inside the house”
- ga:balh gidda:m il-masjid* “he met him before the mosque”

waggaf ʔind il- isha:rah “he stopped at the traffic lights”

la:zim tku:n hinah gabil “you have to be here before sunset
il-maghrib [time]”

Circumstants followed by a bound pronoun:

daxalaw gabluhum “they entered before them”

la: ma: hi: tudrus maʔi: “no, she does not study with me (in the
same level)”

ismiHi: li: bagʔud gidda:mish “excuse me, I will sit in front of you”

Circumstant followed by a demonstrative:

waSl id-du:r ʔind te:h “the turn reached this one (i.e. it is this
one’s turn)”

ka:n Ho:l de:h “it was next to this”

ruSSaha: fo:g to:le:h “put (organize) them over these”

ʔana: b il-ʔinyah HaTTe:tah “I put it under this on purpose”
taHt ha:di:

Circumstant followed by an annexation phrase:

mawʔidna: baʔd Sala:t il-jimʔah “our appointment is after [the
time] of al-Jumʔah prayer”

<i>'a:lhum sa:kni:n janb be:t jidda:nhum</i>	“they are living (their house is) next to their grandparents’ [house]”
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Circumstantial phrases can function as the annex to a preposition. Consider the following examples:

<i>nazal min fo:g iS-SuTu:H</i>	“he came down from above the roof”
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<i>ja: min wara is-su:r</i>	“he came from behind the wall”
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<i>ra:H le: ʕind 'axwa:lah</i>	“he went to his uncles”
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<i>Hin hinah min gabl iD-Duhur</i>	“we are here from before the afternoon”
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7.3 Conclusion

In this chapter we saw that there are two groups of annexation in Abha Arabic: nominal annexation and prepositional and circumstantial annexation (cf. 7.2.). In a nominal annexation, the annexed term is usually indefinite while the annex can be definite or indefinite. The annex is usually added to the annexed term to define the indefinite annexed term (cf. 7.2.1.1.). The annexed term can be a substantive, participle or adjectival (cf. 7.2.1.2.). The annex can be a substantive, participle, adjective, bound pronoun, or annexation phrase (cf. 7.2.1.3.). There are many relationships expressed between the annexed term and the annex in Abha Arabic. These relationships include: possession, genitive of partition, genitive of description, genitive of apposition (cf. 7.2.1.6.).

A prepositional annexation structure consists of a preposition as the annexed term and a following annex. The annex of the preposition can be a noun, pronoun, demonstrative, or a circumstantial or a nominal annexation phrase (cf. 7.2.2.). Circumstantial annexation consists of a circumstant and a following annex. The annex of the circumstant can be a noun, pronoun, demonstrative, or a nominal annexation phrase (cf. 7.2.3.).

Chapter Eight

Complementation

Complementation refers to the construction that completes the action of the verb or verbal derivative (Crystal 1985: 60, Watson 1993: 135, Cowell 1964: 437). The complemented term is the verb or the verbal derivative which is followed by one or more complements. Complements are important elements in the sentence structure. In this study, I will discuss complementation in terms of objects, absolute objects, prepositional or circumstantial phrases, predicative complements, and complemental clauses.

8.1. Objects

The object is the participant which is affected by the action of the verb carried out by the subject. Intransitive verbs do not require an object whereas transitive verbs require an object to complete the sense of the verbal action. Ditransitive verbs require more than one object as will be discussed below.

8.1.1. The order of the object in the verbal sentence

The object usually occurs after the subject and/or verb. Consider the following examples where the objects are highlighted in bold:

<i>tazawwajatt muna: walad</i>	“Mona got married to her cousin”
<i>‘ammaha:</i>	

<i>bada'aw T-Tulla:b dawrah</i>	“the students have started a new
<i>jadi:dah</i>	syllabus”

Where the subject is explicit, the object may occur before the verb. In this case, the verb usually contains an anaphoric pronoun to refer to the preceding object. Consider the following examples:

<i>ʔali ʔa:wanah ʔabu:h</i>	“Ali, his father helped him”
<i>il-be:t gid sakanah na:s</i>	“the house has been lived in before”
<i>ʔara:Di: ʔabu:h Dammu:ha: fi l-mxaTTaT</i>	“his father’s lands have been included in the planned site”
<i>ir-rajja:l ʔilli: Sadamtah xarraju:h min il-mustashfa: ʔams</i>	“the man who I hit was released from hospital yesterday”
<i>ir-ra:di: Haggik xarrabah ʔaxu:k iS-Sighayyir</i>	“your radio set has been ruined by your little brother”
<i>il-ʔazi:mah ʔilli: sawe:ti:ha: ka:nat raw ʔah</i>	“the party that you held was great”

In some cases, the object occurs between the verb and the subject. In this case, the subject is often preceded by *ʔada:t al-HaSr* the determiner *illa:* which means “but”. The verb does not agree with the number and gender of the subject. Consider the following examples:

<i>ma: ʔaxrab it-tilfizu:n illa: ʔwa:lik</i>	“nobody ruined the television set but your children”
<i>ma: ʔallamah il-kidb illa: ʔant</i>	“nobody taught him to lie but you”

<i>ma: dara: b illi: Sa:r illa: 'ana:</i>	“nobody knew what happened except me”
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8.1.2. The object of transitive verbs

Transitive verbs require an object. This object is important in the sentence to complete the sense of the verb. The object of transitive verbs can be a noun (substantive or definite verbal derivative), nominal phrase, bound pronoun or demonstrative. Consider the following examples:

The object as a noun:

<i>btiksir il-gaza:zah</i>	“she will break the glass”
<i>'axado: il-mafa:ti:H</i>	“they took the keys”
<i>bass sha:fo: sayya:rah ?ind ba:bna: f ga:lo: innaha: sayya:ratna:</i>	“they only saw a car at our house door, so they thought it was our car”
<i>Darabatt waladha: gidda:mi:</i>	“she hit her son in front of me (i.e. in my presence)”
<i>'axad iz-zi:nah w xalla: ish-shi:nah lina:</i>	“he took the good [one] and left the bad [one] for us”
<i>il-mishkilah innah yi?rif il-ghalaT wi ysawwi:h</i>	“the problem is that he knows the wrong [thing] and [still] does it”

The object as a nominal phrase:

<i>ghayyaraw 'ata:t be:thum</i>	“they changed their furniture”
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<i>innaha: hiyyah tibgha: il-liʔbah</i>	“it is her who wants the big
<i>il-kibi:rah</i>	doll”

<i>huwwah yibgha: mnaDDif yiji:</i>	“he wants a cleaner [man] to
<i>ynaDDif la-Hwa:sh kul yo:m jimʔah</i>	clean the yards every friday”

The object as a bound pronoun or demonstrative:

<i>maskah ʔindah</i>	“he kept it with him”
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<i>fahhammtaha: ʔala: kull shay</i>	“I explained everything to her”
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<i>ana: ʔilli: sawwe:tha: laha:</i>	“I am the one who did it for her”
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<i>gid ʔazamti sh w ma: ji:ti:</i>	“I invited you but you did not come”
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<i>ʔaxwa:nik ʔilli: zaʔalo: ni:</i>	“it was your brothers who upset me”
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<i>saww ha:di: w xala:S</i>	“do this and that is all”
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<i>la: txarrib te:h</i>	“do not damage this”
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<i>ʔaʔTatt di: w xallat di:k</i>	“she gave this [one] and left that [one]”
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8.1.3. The object of ditransitive verbs

A ditransitive verb requires two objects: an indirect object and a direct object. The indirect object is the recipient for whom the act of the verb is performed and the direct object is the participant in the action of the verb which can be something used in

the action of the verb or resulting from it (Watson 1993: 142, Cowell 1964: 438). The indirect object can be a noun, a bound pronoun, a demonstrative or a prepositional phrase. The direct object can be a noun, a prepositional phrase, a nominal or verbal phrase or clause. Consider the following examples:

Both the indirect object and the direct object are nouns:

<i>gid 'aTe:t 'a:l mHammad kalmah</i>	"I have already given the Mohammad a word"
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<i>wadda: 'asma: il-kulliyyah?</i>	"has he taken 'Asma [to] college?"
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<i>warr 'abu:k il-xiTā:b</i>	"show your father the letter"
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The indirect object is a noun and the direct object is a verbal clause:

<i>baghatt xa:līd yitrajja:ha:</i>	"she wanted Khalid to beg her [to forgive him]"
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<i>sha:faw it-tuja:r yiksabu:n kaṭi:r</i>	"they saw the businessmen
<i>frafaʿaw 'ija:r a:t il-maHallā:t</i>	earning a lot, so they increased
	the rent rates"

<i>ghaSab ʿwa:lah yiru:Hu:n l ummuhum</i>	"he forced his children to go to their mother"
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The indirect object as a prepositional phrase:

<i>'axadt il-ʿilm min ʿali:</i>	"I took the news from Ali"
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<i>marre:t 'abu:yah fi l-maHall</i>	"I passed by my father in the store"
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<i>taʕallamt iT-Tabx min ʕummi:</i>	“I learned cooking from my mother”
<i>ʕaʕTat il-bint l ʕabu:ha:</i>	“she gave the girl to her father”
<i>gid sawwe:t il-ghada: luhum</i>	“I have already made the lunch for them”

The indirect object as a pronoun and the direct object as a nominal phrase:

<i>labbasatni: tu:b ʕami:rah</i>	“she dressed me in ʕAmi:rah’s dress”
<i>ʕaʕTe:t ah mifta:H is-sayya:rah</i>	“I gave him the car key”
<i>warratna: Suwar zawa:jha:</i>	“she showed us her wedding pictures”
<i>fahhamhum il-masʕalah SaHH</i>	“he explained the mathematics correctly to them”
<i>ʕaʕTi: te:h Hagg it-tu:b</i>	“give this [women] the price of the dress”

Both indirect and direct objects can be pronominalised, but the direct object cannot be pronominalised unless the indirect object is pronominalised. In this case, the direct object is usually accusative pronoun (cf. 5.1.1.1.b.). Consider the following examples:

<i>ʕaʕTa: ni: ʕiyya:ha:</i>	“he gave it to me”
<i>warre:thum ʕiyya:ha:</i>	“I showed it to them”

If the direct pronominalised object is not accusative, it occurs the first and the indirect pronominalised occurs the second and is preceded by a preposition. Consider the following examples:

'ashtra:h lah

“he bought it for him”

'arsalattah liyyah

“she send it to me”

'arrafnī: 'ale:h

“he introduced me to him”

xaTabtaha: lik

“I asked her for marriage for you”

Quirk and Greenbaum (1973: 370) point out that for English the indirect object is normally animate and usually occurs as the first object in the sentence, and the direct object is normally concrete and usually occurs as the second object. However, in some cases in Abha Arabic, the indirect object is not animate. Consider the following examples. The indirect objects are highlighted in bold:

zaraʔ 'arDah shiʔi:r

“lit. he sowed his land oats”

dahan sayya:rath bu:yah be:Da:

“lit. he coloured his car white”

farashaw il-be:t kullah zall

“they furnished the whole house
with rugs”

ka:n yisgi: ish-shajar ma:n ma:laH “he used to water the tree with
salt water”

The indirect object does not always occur as the first object nor the direct object as the second object in Abha Arabic. Consider the following examples where the direct object occurs as the first object and the indirect object as the second object:

<i>'aʕTe:t i t-tu:b ʕali:</i>	"I gave the dress to Ali"
<i>labbasat ish-shibshib waladha:</i>	"she put the shoes on her son"
<i>'aʕTe:t il- 'ija:r 'abu:k</i>	"I gave the rent to your father"

8.2. The absolute object

Verbs can be complemented by a paronymous gerund *mafʕu:l muTlaq* "absolute object" with or without modifiers. Consider the following examples:

The absolute object without modifiers:

<i>walla:h innuhum 'aHrago:</i> <i>'ummuhum Harg</i>	"lit. by God, they burnt their mother (i.e. they really annoyed their mother)"
<i>DaHkaw DiHk</i>	"they laughed a lot"
<i>ragaSat ragS</i>	"she danced nicely"
<i>Habbaha: Hubb</i>	"he loved her a lot"
<i>walla:h maSbu:b Sabb ʕale:sh</i>	"it has been fitted nicely on you"

with modifiers:

<i>rabba:h tarbiyatin zi:nah</i>	"he brought him up with care"
<i>tiTbax Tabxin yijannin</i>	"she cooks nicely"

<i>Darabah Darbin ykassir</i>	“he hit him hard [lit. hitting that breaks]”
<i>walla:h innah ‘anxabaT xabTatin she:nah</i>	“he had a bad hit”

Instance nouns, *ism al-marrah*, are in some cases used in place of the absolute object. Consider the following examples:

<i>kallamtah kalmah bass</i>	“I talked with him once”
<i>waSa:h waSiyyah</i>	“he gave him advice”
<i>lamaHtah lamHah</i>	“I gave him a quick glance”
<i>durna: do:rah Ho:l il-be:t</i>	“we wandered around the house once”
<i>ghalTat ghalTah she:nah</i>	“she made an awful mistake”

8.3. Prepositional complements

There are many verbs which require prepositional complements. Consider the following examples:

<i>zannaw ʔale:h le:n wa:fag</i>	“they insisted on him till he agreed”
<i>ja: lah walade:n</i>	“he has two boys”
<i>ra:Haw le: ʔindah</i>	“they went to him”

<i>la: tistaʃil ʃala: rizgik</i>	“do not be rushed on your living supplements”
<i>tis'al ʃale:sh il-ʃa:fiyah</i>	“lit. good health asks about you (i.e. I wish you a good health)”
<i>is-sayya:rah wagafat bina: ʃala: T-Tari:g</i>	“they car stopped with us on the side of the road”
<i>raja:ʃ ʃalayyah yiDa:ribni:</i>	“he came back to fight me”
<i>ʃallam l ummah b kull shay</i>	“he told his mother every thing”
<i>yugʃudu:n ʃala l-balo:t le: nuSS il-le:l</i>	“they sit [playing] cards till midnight”

In some cases, prepositional complements may precede the complemented verb to show more emphasis. Consider the following examples:

<i>kannaha: ʃala: xashmi: tsi:r</i>	“lit. she seems as if she is walking on my nose (i.e. I cannot bear her any longer)”
<i>ʃala: galbi: gaʃadaw</i>	“lit. they sat on my heart (i.e. they stayed against my wish)”
<i>ʃala: ba:bkum dagge:na:</i>	“on your door we knocked”
<i>fi: be:tkum bmugʃud</i>	“at your house we will stay”

Certain verbs can take more than one prepositional phrase. The second prepositional phrase is usually not as necessary in the sentence as the first one. In this case, the first prepositional phrase is the complemental phrase and the second is a supplemental or adverbial phrase. Consider the following examples where the complemental phrases are highlighted:

<i>irsili: lah minnah</i>	“send to him from here”
<i>jat li: minhum</i>	“I have got it from them”
<i>daxalt ʔale:hum min hinah</i>	“I entered to them from here”
<i>ja: lha: tala:t bana:t minnah</i>	“she has three daughters from him”
<i>ba:gi: li: ʔarbaʔah ʔa:la:f ʔinduhum</i>	“there are still four thousand for me with them”

With some verbs, the two prepositional phrases are equally important in the sentence which means that they are both complements. Consider the following examples:

<i>ʔallam l abu:h b ʔilli: sawwe:tu:h fi:h</i>	“he told his father what you had done to him”
<i>ga:l li: b xiTTatkum saʔad</i>	“he told me about your plan, Saʔad”
<i>min illi: ʔallam lik b il-xabar</i>	“who told you the news?”
<i>gid ga:lo: li b il-mawʔid</i>	“they have already told me about the appointment”

8.4. Predicative complements

8.4.1. Predicand and predicate as objects

There are some verbs which take two objects where these objects constitute a predicand-predicate structure in themselves. These verbs are known in classical Arabic as *Dann w 'axawa:tiha:*, see Hasan (1973: II 3-10). These verbs are of two types. The verbs in the first type carry the sense of think, believe or realise. The verbs in the second type carry the sense of make, turn or affect. The second object which is originally the predicate in the predication structure is not always the recipient of the action of the verb. The predication structure can be linked to the main verb either hypotactically by subordinating particles or paratactically with no subordinating particles (cf. 8.5.). Consider the following examples:

The first type:

walla:h inni: 'ashu:f 'abu:k Tayyib “by God, I see your father [to be]
a good [man]”

Hassab inn xa:lik 'abu:k “he thought that your uncle was
your father”

Hassabt inn iT-Ti:b yinfa' “I thought that being good was
beneficial”

huwwah 'add inn ik btiji: “he was sure that you will come”

*walla:h inni: 'a'iddah miṭil
waladi:* “by God, I consider him to be my
son”

*habb nafsik maka:nah e:sh
bitsawwi:* “put yourself in his position,
what would you do”

habb innah waladik

“consider him as if he is your son”

*‘ufruD innik il-mudi:r mant
btufSulah*

“suppose you were the manager,
are you not going to fire him?”

The second group

‘int ‘illi: xalle:tah nidin lik

“you are the one who made him
an enemy for you”

xalle:tah yi:ʔrif nafsah

“I made him know himself”

*Abha: ‘illi: tarudd il-kahlah
Sabiyyah*

“it is Abha which make the old
[woman] younger”

huwwah ‘illi: xalla:k rajja:l

“he is the one who made you a
man”

ʔayyan o:h wazi:r

“they appointed him minister”

In some cases, where the objects are co-referential with the subject, the two objects can refer to the subject either through the word *nafs* “self” or through hypotactic linkage. Consider the following examples:

xalla: nafsah zaʔi:m bil-ghaSb

“he made himself a leader
by force”

haba: nafsah il-ʔarri:f

“he considers himself to be the
one who knows everything”

<i>tra:h yiHsib innah duku:r</i>	“pay attention, he thinks that he is a doctor”
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<i>shuft inni: ‘agdar ‘asawwi:h</i>	“I found myself able to do it”
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8.4.2. Predicate as verb’s subject complement

There are some verbs which can be complemented by predicates which refer to the verb’s subject. The predicative (subjective) complement can be a phrase or a clause. Consider the following examples of phrasal complement, clausal complement will be discussed in detail under linking verbs (cf. 8.4.2.1.):

<i>tiTlaʔ iS-Su:rah wa:DHa</i>	“the picture will be clear”
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<i>min ‘illi: Talaʔ il-fa:yiz?</i>	“who is the winner?”
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<i>ja: ʔali: mistaʔil</i>	“Ali came in a hurry”
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<i>waSl mit’axxir shwayyah</i>	“he arrived a bit late”
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8.4.2.1. Linking verbs

In Abha Arabic, there are a few linking verbs such as *ka:n*, *gaʔad*, *ga:m*, *ja:* and *Sa:r*. Linking verbs take subject complements. The complements have an anaphoric reference to the subject of the main verb. Linking verbs agree with the number and the gender of the subject. Consider the following examples:

ka:n

verbal complement:

<i>ka:n Ta:rig yiHibb yiji:na:</i>	“Tariq used to like to come to us”
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<i>ka:natt il-mada:ris tiftaH yo:m il-xami:s</i>	“schools used to open on Thursday”
<i>ka:naw in-na:s yitga:balo:n w yiru:Hu:n yismuru:n sawa: le: niSfa:t il-le:l</i>	“people used to meet and go to (have fun) till midnight
<i>ka:natt ‘ummaha: tiji:na: da:yman tʔa:win ‘ummi:</i>	“her mother used to always come to us to help my mother”
<i>ka:no: yuxbuzu:n fi t-tana:ni:r fo:g is-suTu:H</i>	“they used to bake in the tannoors (ovens made of clay used for baking bread) on the roof”

Adjectival complement:

<i>ka:naw in-na:s Tayyibi:n</i>	“people used to be nice”
<i>ka:n daki: yo:m faSal min shughlah w shtaghal fi t-tija:rah</i>	“he was smart when he quit his job and began to work in business”
<i>walla:h innah ka:n ze:n yo:m ‘ashtare:tah</i>	“by God, it was good when I bought it”

Nominal complement:

<i>ka:n Da:biT yo:m Sa:r lah il-Ha:diṭ</i>	“he was a soldier when he had the accident”
<i>ka:n muwwah il-‘ima:m Haggina:</i>	“he was our ima:m (the one who leads people in prayer)”
<i>ga:balt siʔi:d ‘illi: ka:n muhandis</i>	“I have met Saeed who was an

fī: ish-sharikah Haggatkum

architect in your company”

The complement as a prepositional or circumstantial phrase:

ka:n fī: l-maTbax Tu:l il-wagt

“he was in the kitchen all the time”

ka:natt taHt iz-zu:leyyah

“it was under the rug”

il-Hall ka:n fī: ‘i:dik

“the solution was in your hands”

gaʿad

gaʿad is often used in the sense of “to remain, keep doing”. This verb takes a verbal, adjectival, or prepositional phrase as a complement. Consider the following examples:

Verbal complement:

gaʿadaw yuTlubu:nah le:n Ta:ʔ

“they kept asking him till he agreed”

*gaʿad ‘abu:k yibni: da l-be:t xams
sni:n*

“your father was building this house for five years”

la: tugʿud tka:dīb ʿalayyah

“do not keep lying to me”

gaʿadatt tudrus le:n ʿannasatt

“she kept studying till she became an old spinster”

Adjectival complement:

gaʔad Sa:kit le:n ra:Hatt ʔale:h “he remained without a word till
he lost it”

gaʔad figi:rin le:n ma:t “he stayed poor till he died”

gaʔadt maSallabin ʔal l-ba:b “I was standing by the door for an
sa:ʔah hour”

Prepositional complement:

la: tugʔud fi l-bard “do not stay in the cold [place]”

gaʔadna: ʔala: ʔaʔSa:bna: “lit. we stayed on our nerves all
Tu:l iT-Tari:g the way (i.e. we remained nervous
all the way)”

gaʔadatt fi l-fre:zar le:n ʔanfajaratt “it stayed in the freezer till it
ruptured”

ga:m

ga:m as a linking verb is not the verb with the sense of “get up” or “stand up”.

ga:m as a linking verb has the sense of “to start doing something”. This verb takes a verbal or prepositional complement. Consider the following examples:

Verbal complement:

yo:m katratt flu:sah ga:m yifakkir “when his money became lots, he
yiʔris started thinking about getting
married (to a second wife)”

<i>'awwalma: daxalna: ʔale:hum</i>	“when we came in, they started to
<i>ga:maw yidasdisu:n ‘alʔa:b</i>	hide their children’s toys”
<i>ʔwa:lhūm</i>	

<i>fi l ‘axi:r ga:m yisHab b du:n raSi:d</i>	“lately, he has started to draw
	without credit [overdraft]”

<i>ga:maw yistiʔiddu:n min da l-Hi:n</i>	“they started to be ready from
	now”

Prepositional complement:

There are a few contexts where the verb *ga:m* takes a prepositional complement.

Consider the two following examples:

<i>walla:h innuhum ga:maw fi l-ʔurs</i>	“they were helpful at the
	wedding”

<i>ga:maw fi l-ʔaza:</i>	“they were attending the
	funeral”

ga:m can also take a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *ʔala:* plus a following verbal complement as in:

<i>ga:m ‘axu:ha: ʔale:ha: yiDa:ribha:</i>	“her brother started a fight with
	her”

<i>ga:maw ʔala il-be:t yiSabbughu:nah</i>	“they started to paint the house”
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<i>yo:m waʔadhum yimashshi:hum</i>	“when he promised them to take
<i>ga:maw ʔala: wa:jba:thum</i>	them out, they started to do
<i>yiHillu:nha</i>	their homework”

ja:

ja: as a linking verb does not have the sense of “to come” but the sense of “to turn out, become”. Consider the following examples:

Adjectival complement:

<i>il-ʔaji:nah tiji: Ha:mDah ida:</i>	“the dough becomes sour if you
<i>ʔaktarti: xami:ratha:</i>	put in too much yeast”

<i>gaʔadatt fi ish-shams le:n ja:</i>	“she sat under the sun until her
<i>wajhaha: ʔaswad</i>	face became black”

Prepositional complement:

<i>farHatt bah yo:m hu: walad</i>	“she was happy that he was her
<i>ʔaxu:ha: f ja: laha: ʔadu:</i>	nephew, but he turned out to be
	an enemy for her”

Sa:r

Sa:r as a linking verb carries the sense of “become”. Consider the following examples:

Adjectival complement:

<i>il-mawDu:ʔ Sa:r ʔa:di: ʔindah</i>	“the issue became normal to him”
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<i>xala:S Sa:ratt il-masʔalah</i>	“that is enough, the case has
<i>wa:DHah</i>	become clear [to us]”

Prepositional complement:

<i>Sa:r il-kidb ʔindah ʔa:dah</i>	“lying became a habit for him”
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Sa:r yilʔab b il-fulu:s liʔb

“he began playing with money”

8.5. Complemental clauses

Some transitive verbs can take clauses as objects. Some complemental clauses are hypotactic which means that they are linked hypotactically to the complemented term by subordinating particles, while others are paratactic and have no subordinating link (Cowell 1964: 449, Watson 1993: 160-161). The main subordinators that are used in hypotactic complementation in Abha Arabic are: *inn*, *le:*, *ida:*.

8.5.1. Paratactic clauses

The subject of a verbal paratactic clause may not refer to the subject of the complemented term. Consider the following examples:

ga:lo: lah ʔiHsim il-mawDu:ʔ
bsurʔah

“they told him to finish the issue
quickly”

ʔahli: yibgho:ni: ʔagʔud maʔhum
ʔala: Tu:l

“my family wants me to stay with
them for ever”

gid dare:na: ma: hum yibghu:nik
tgangin ʔale:hum

“we already know that they do not
want you nagging [at] them”

gid waSa:h ʔabu:h ymurr ʔale:kum
“his father told him to pass by
you”

Sometimes, the subject of a verbal paratactic clause may refer to the subject of the complemented term. Consider the following examples:

xallatt baʔlaha: w ra:Ha tt tugʔud “she left her husband and stayed

<i>maʔa ʔwa:lha:</i>	with her children”
<i>ʔa:dish tabghe:n tjarribi:n</i>	“do you still want to try?”
<i>xala:S ma: ʔagdar ʔatHammal ziya:dah</i>	“that is it, I cannot stand [it] any more”

Interrogative object clauses are linked paratactically to the complemented term.

Consider the following examples:

<i>ʔallamni: ke:f ʔashtighil</i>	“he taught me how to work”
<i>ma: dallo:ni: ʔe:n ʔaru:H illa: ʔi l-ʔxi:r</i>	“they did not tell where to go till the end”
<i>il-wa:Hid ma: yidri: min ʔe:n il-masha:kil tiji:h</i>	“one cannot know from where problems come from to him”
<i>intu: tidru:n ʔe:n ra:H ʔabu:yah</i>	“do you know where my father went?”

A complemental clause which functions as an object to a verb of speech is sometimes linked paratactically to the complemented term. Consider the following examples:

<i>ga:lo: li: ʔaji:</i>	“they told me to come”
<i>gid ga:lo: ma: hum yiʔrifu:nhum</i>	“they said that they do not know them”
<i>he:h tra: ma: Hadd bigu:l e:sh ʔant ʔale:h</i>	“hey, no one will say what are you up to”

<i>ʔa:dik bitgu:l ʔabgha: ʔajarrib?</i>	“are you still going to say you want to try?”
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8.5.2. Hypotactic clauses

The subject of a hypotactic clause is not always co-referential with the subject of the complemented term. Consider the following examples:

<i>ʔaxa:f innah yiwaggif fajʔah</i>	“I am afraid that it will stop suddenly”
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<i>ma: kunt ʔaʔrif innik tishtighil b.flu:sah</i>	“I did not know that you were working on (investing) his money”
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<i>ʔintu: tidru:n inn il-ji:ra:n byungulu:n</i>	“did you know that the neighbours are moving?”
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<i>walla:h widdna: inn ʔahlik maʔna: ʔala: <u>da</u> l-ʔasha: z-ze:n</i>	“by God, we wish that your family were with us at this nice dinner”
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<i>bashu:f ida: hum fi: be:thum walla: la:</i>	“I will see if they are at their home or not”
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<i>ʔana: bagaddir le: gid ma: hu: yiʔrif</i>	“I will understand if he does not know”
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In some cases, the subject of a hypotactic clause with a pronoun subject is co-referential with the subject of the complemented term. Consider the following examples:

<i>'intu: tidru:n innukum dammartu: Haya:ti:?</i>	“do you know that you have destroyed my life?”
<i>mit'akkid ana: inni: ma: daxalt bsharr be:nkum</i>	“I am sure that I did not interfere badly between you”
<i>yidru:m innuh mgaSSiri:n</i>	“lit. they know that they do not meet the expectations”

A complemental clause which functions as the object of a verb can be linked hypotactically to the complemented term in the case of indirect speech. Consider the following examples:

<i>'int gult l ahlik innik btit'axxar</i>	“did you tell your family that you will be late?”
<i>gid ga:l innah yishtighil fi l-mustashfa:</i>	“he already said that he was working at the hospital”
<i>gaʔad yka: dib ʔale:na: wi ygu:l innah bisawwi:ha: bnaʔsah</i>	“he kept lying to us and saying that he would do it himself”
<i>gid ga:law innuhum byilghu:n il-maʔa:riD fi l-mada:ris</i>	“they have said that they will stop the schools’ exhibitions”

8.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed complementation referring to its relation to the main verb of the sentence which is regarded as the complemented term. Complements are an important item in the sentence. They complete the action of the complemented term. Complements can be objects (cf. 8.1.), absolute objects (cf. 8.2.), prepositional or

circumstantial phrases (cf. 8.3.), predicative complements (cf. 8.4.) or complemental clauses (cf. 8.5.).

Chapter Nine

Attribution

An attributive phrase consists of two elements: an attributed term and an attribute. The attribute modifies the attributed term. It agrees with the attributed term in number, gender and definiteness with a few exceptions as will be discussed below (Watson 1993: 205, Cowell 1964: 493). Semantically, az-Zamaxshari: says that attribution *aS-Sifah/ an-naʿt* can be used to *taxSi:S* “identify” indefinite nouns and *tawDi:H* “clarify” definite nouns. The literal meaning of *taxSi:S* is to specify and indicate an unknown something/someone by modifying it, and *tawDi:H* is to clarify something/someone which is already known to some extent. Consider the following examples from classical Arabic:

raʿaytu rajulan ʿa:liman

“I have seen a knowledgeable
man”

According to Ibnu-Yaʿi:sh, *ʿa:liman* identifies and specifies an unknown man, whereas in:

raʿaytu Zaydan al-ʿa:gila

“I have seen the well-behaved
Zayd”

al-ʿa:gila: indicates the well-behaved Zayd and not anyone else.

Az-Zamaxshari: adds that *aS-Sifah* can be used to show compliments or disparagements. For more details see Ibnu-Yaʿi:sh ((n.d.): III 46–48). Hasan says that an attribute is used to clarify, specify, or to indicate: compliment, disparagement, affection, or emphasis, for details see Hasan (1976: III 437–440).

9.1. The purpose of attribution in Abha Arabic

In Abha Arabic, the purpose of attribution is to clarify definite attributed terms, specify or determine indefinite attributed terms, or describe definite and indefinite attributed terms.

9.1.1. To clarify

The attribute can be used to add more information to an already known object/person. This piece of information may be necessary to further define the attributed term.

<i>'ana: 'illi: 'aHta:jah ma: shtare:tah</i>	"I am [the one] who need it, I did not buy it, i.e. although I needed it, I did not buy it"
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<i>il-bint il-mizkiyyah hiyyah 'illi: ma: txalli: Hadd yiDHak ʔale:ha:</i>	"the sensible girl is the one who lets nobody makes a fool of her"
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9.1.2. To specify

An attribute can be used to add some information to an unknown object, i.e. an indefinite term. Consider the following examples:

<i>tra: ha:da: ma:hu: shayy hayyin</i>	"hey, this is not an easy thing"
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<i>ana: 'abgha: Si:niyyah mdawwarah</i>	"I want a round pan"
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Sometimes an attribute can modify a definite term, i.e. a known object which belongs to a large kind in order to add more specification to it.

<i>ma: hi: ze:nah te:h il-farshah il-jidi:dah</i>	“it is not good, this new carpet”
<i>is-sayya:ra:t il-yaba:niyyah ʔumraha: Tawi:l dayman</i>	“Japanese cars always have a long life”
<i>il-fulu:s ‘illi: ʔala T-Ta:wlah ma: hi: liyyah</i>	“the money which is on the table is not mine”
<i>‘a:lah ‘axu:ha: il-wa:SiT ‘illi: taxarraǰ</i>	“it is her middle brother who graduated”

9.1.3. To describe

Attributes are mostly used to describe objects or persons. Descriptions can show bad or good aspects of the attributed object. Descriptions can indicate compliment, disparagement, affection, shape or colour, status or emphasis. Consider the following examples:

An attribute indicates a compliment:

<i>‘int rajja:lin Tayyib</i>	“you are a good man”
<i>le:tik tiji: miṭil ‘abu:k iT-Tayyib</i>	“I wish you could be like your kind father”
<i>Hin ma: nigbal illa: l-ʔimma:l il-mumta:zi:n</i>	“we only accept excellent workers”
<i>ha:da: s-shughul iz-ze:n walla: bala:sh</i>	“this is a good job or nothing”

An attribute indicates disparagement:

*ma:ni: 'abgha: de:h it-tu:b
ish-she:n*

"I do not want this awful dress"

ka:natt ʕind wa:Hid baxi:l

"she was married to a stingy
[person]"

An attribute indicates affection:

tra: 'abu:h rajja:lin Di:ʕ:f

"his father is a weak man"

*'anHarag galb 'ummaha:
il-maski:nah*

"lit. her poor mother's heart has
been burned (i.e. her heart is
hurt)"

An attribute indicates shape or colour:

da:k ir-rajja:l iT-Tuwi:l

"that tall man"

ma: ʕindaha: shanTah be:Da:

"she does not have a white bag"

An attribute indicates condition:

*ma: fi:h illa: waragah maktu:bah
b xaTT i:dah*

"there is no paper but one written
in his hand-writing"

ma: yitHammal il-jaww il-Ha:rr

"he cannot stand hot weather"

An attribute indicates emphasis:

ma: rasab illa: marrah waHdah

"he did not fail except once
(i.e. he failed only once)"

‘abgha: l-awra:g kullaha:

“I want all the papers”

9.2. Definiteness

An attributed term can be either definite or indefinite. The attribute agrees in definiteness with the attributed term. If the attributed term is definite, the attribute is definite, and if the attributed term is indefinite, the attribute is indefinite.

9.3. The categories of the attributed term

The attributed term can be a noun (substantive, or verbal derivative) or pronoun (personal or demonstrative).

9.3.1. The attributed term as a noun

9.3.1.1. Definite nouns

Consider the following examples where definite attributed terms are highlighted:

il-walad iD-Da:yaʔ

“the lost boy”

it-tu:b l-aHmar Haggish faSax

“the red dress of yours has faded”

*ha:da: taʔmi:m min il-ʔida:rah
il-jadi:dah*

“this is a circular from the new
administration”

ʔa:lah ga:ʔid fi l-be:t l-awwal

“he is staying in the old house”

*ma:ni: ʔaHibbah il-ʔaxDar
il-gha:mig*

“I do not like it the dark green”

<i>l-wardi: il-fa:tiH ma: yna:sib illa: l-bi:D</i>	“light pink only suits white [people]”
<i>ha:da: sh-sha:ʕir il-maghmu:r</i>	“this is the obscure poet”
<i>‘ahamm shay innik tga: bil il-mudi:r law-wal w tistafsir minnah</i>	“the important thing is to meet the old manager and understand from him”
<i>il-muwaDDaf il-mit ‘axxir yinxSim ʕale:h il-yo:m kullah</i>	“the late employee will be docked a day’s pay”
<i>il-mumarriDa:t il-filibini:yya:t ‘aHsan min il-mumarriDa:t il-hindiyya:t</i>	“Philippino nurses are better than Indian nurses”

9.3.1.2. Indefinite nouns

Indefinite nouns are modified by an indefinite attribute. Consider the following examples:

<i>ʕinduhum walad mari:D</i>	“they have a sick son”
<i>Talaʕ laha: wirtin kibi:r</i>	“she got a large amount of inheritance”
<i>gid laha: sanah ka:mlah ʕindah</i>	“she has spent a whole year with him”
<i>tara:k int rajja:lin Tayyib</i>	“hey, you are a kind man”
<i>ja:hum Ha:ris jidi:d</i>	“they have a new guard”

9.3.2. The attributed term as a pronoun

Classical grammarians point out that personal pronouns cannot be attributed since they are unknown (Hasan 1976: III 466). However, in some cases, personal pronouns do take attributes in Abha Arabic. Consider the following examples:

<i>'ana: l-malgu:fah 'illi: gult lik</i>	"I am the nosey one who told you"
<i>'int illi: Talabtah ji:t il-'axi:r</i>	"you who requested it came last"
<i>'ana: 'illi: 'aSghar minnik 'a'rif 'aHsan minnik</i>	"I who am younger than you know better than you"

Demonstratives can occur as attributed terms in Abha like personal pronouns. As for personal pronouns, the attribute should be definite. Consider the following examples:

<i>tibghe:ni: 'albas <u>da</u> t-tu:b ish-she:n?</i>	"do you want me to wear this ugly dress?"
<i>'imsak <u>du:la</u>: 'illi: 'indik</i>	"keep those who are with you"
<i>ha:<u>da</u>: l-jidi:d 'aHsan</i>	"this new [one] is better"
<i>tibgha: <u>da:k</u> il-awwal walla: l-jidi:d?</i>	"do you want that old [one] or the new [one]?"
<i>'ullu:h 'ala: <u>du:la:k</u> il-bana:t iz-ziyya:n</i>	"oh, God bless those beautiful girls"

9.4. The category of the attribute

The attribute can be a noun, demonstrative, numeral, nominal annexation phrase, prepositional or circumstantial phrase, relative clause, verbal clause or nominal clause. The attribute and the attributed term usually agree in number, gender, and definiteness (with some exceptions as will be noted below).

9.4.1. The attribute as a noun

Either substantive or verbal derivative nouns can function as attributes, however a substantive is used as an attribute only if the attributed term is a demonstrative. In this case, substantives are definite. Consider the following examples:

'ana: ma: abgha: te:h ish-shanTah “I do not want this bag”

'int tiʔrif de:h il-walad? “do you know this boy?”

la:zim tiHilli:n ha:di: il-mas'alah “you have to do this exercise”

Verbal derivatives are the most common term to be used as attributes. Verbal derivatives include active participles, passive participles, and adjectivals (cf. 2.2.2.). They can occur as definite or indefinite attributes according to the definiteness of the attributed term (cf. 9.2.). Consider the following examples:

9.4.1.1. Active participle

ha:di: min ʔma:yil shillatk “this is from what your bad
id-da:shrah mates did”

shu:f 'abu:yah hada:k il-ja:y “look, my father is that [one] who
is coming”

fī:h wa:hīd ʕīnd il-ba:b wa:gīf “there is someone standing at the door”

ha:di: hi: il-marāh in-namma:mah “this is the gossip woman who
‘illi: tudxul b sh-sharr ʕala: causes problems for her family
‘ahl be:tha: in-law”

9.4.1.2. Passive participle

ma: gid SallaHt ba:bkum de:h “have you not fixed your broken
il-maksu:r door?”

xuḍi: min il-ʕaji:nah il-maxmu:rah “take from the risen dough and
w xalli: te:h il-ʕaji:nah ‘illi: ma: leave this dough which has
hi: maʕju:nah ze:n not done well”

shuft shay mjassam gidda:mi: “I saw a shaped thing in front of me”

lige:t kita:b marmi: bara: “I found a book thrown outside”

9.4.1.3. Adjectival

‘int rajja:lin Tayyib “you are a kind man”

ka:n ‘imtiHa:n Saʕb “it was a difficult examination”

fe:n hi: shaxSiyyatk il-giwiyyah? “where is your strong personality?”

ma: ‘abgha: da at-tu:b ish-she:n “I do not want this ugly dress”

il-filfil il-axDar ‘aHsan min “the green pepper is better than

il-’aSfar w il-’aHmar the yellow and red [ones]”

*yibgha: lik jake:t raSa:Si: walla:
‘aswad* “you need a grey or a black
jacket”

*ana: ‘axtart lik ish-shay il-’aSlaH
lik* “I chose the thing which is the
best for you”

ha:da: ma:hu: il-Hall il-’afDal “this is not the most preferable
solution”

9.4.2. The attribute as a demonstrative

Besides being an attributed term, demonstratives can function as attributes in some cases. Since demonstratives are inherently definite (Hasan 1976: III 465, cf. 2.3.2.), the attributed term should be definite. The attributed term can be a proper noun, a noun with the definite article, or an annexation phrase. Demonstratives as attributes usually follow the attributed terms and agree with them in number and gender. Consider the following examples:

When the attributed term is a proper noun:

‘int ti ‘rif mHammad da:k? “do you know that Mohammad?”

*he:h tra: ma:ni zuhrah di:k
l-awwalah* “hey, I am not that old Zuhrah”

When the attributed term takes the definite article:

bargubk fi l-maHall ha:da: “I will wait for you in this shop”

ma ‘abgha: il-ma:ddah ha:di: “I do not want this subject”

lisni: 'aHibb il-be:t de:h “I do not like this house”

tiddakkar ir-riHla:t di:k? “do you remember those trips?”

When the attributed term is a nominal phrase:

gid ga:balt 'axu:k de:h “I have met your brother, this [one]”

ma: gid ji:tkum fi: be:tkum da:k “I have not come to you in your house, that [one] (i.e. in that house of yours)”

ya: xi: fe:n hi: mawa:hibk de:k “mate, where are your skills those [one] (i.e. those skills of yours)”

gid tazawwaj zami:li: da:k “my friend that [one] (i.e. that friend of mine) has got married”

'awwal marrah 'aga:bil zumala:k do:la: “this is the first time I have met those friends of yours”

walla:h innah ma: za:n shughlik da:k “by God, this job of yours has not been good”

In a few cases, demonstratives can function as attributes to personal pronouns.

Consider the following examples:

'a:lish 'anti di:k l-awwalah “it is you, that old [one]”

'a:lik di:h ʔind xashmi:

“lit, you are this at my nose (i.e.
here you are with me, against my
wish)”

9.4.3. The attribute as a numeral

Ordinal and cardinal numerals can function as attributes to nouns. They are usually definite and modify definite nouns, however, in some cases they can be indefinite and consequently the attributed term is indefinite too. Ordinal and cardinal numerals agree with the attributed noun in number and gender. Consider the following examples:

An attribute as an ordinal:

The attribute and attributed terms are definite:

fi l-yo:m il-awwal min il- 'iftita:H “on the first day of the opening”

il-Hfa:d il-mafru:D innah yku:n “the birth celebration should be
fi l-yo:m is-sa:biʔ 'aw on the seventh or fourteenth day”
il- 'arbaʔTa:ʔash

ha:di: l-liʔbah is-sa:dsah 'illi: “this is the sixth game
fa:z fi:ha: w 'axad il-ja: 'izah which he won and took the
prize”

The attribute and attributed term are indefinite:

Ha:wli: marrah ta:ltah “try for a third time”

bniji:kum yo:m ta:ni: “we will come to you another
day”

An attribute as a cardinal:

The attribute and attributed term are definite:

yidaxxil fi: ish-shahr il-wa:Hid “he gains eight thousand
tama:nyah ‘ala:f in one month”

‘aʕrifhum il-ʕwa:l is-sittah ‘illi: “I know the six children who
baghaw yishrudu:n min il-madrasah wanted to escape from school”

najHaw bana:t il-faSl il-ʕishri:n “all the twenty girls in the
kulluhum class have passed”

The attribute and attributed term are indefinite:

rasab marrah waHdah “he failed once”

niswa:nah it-tinti:n sa:kni:n fi: “his two wives are living in one
be:tin wa:Hid house”

shuft sayya:rate:n tinte:n daxalaw “I saw two cars enter your
Ho:shkum yard”

9.4.4. The attribute as a nominal annexation phrase

An annexation phrase can function as an attribute. Some words commonly head attributive annexation phrases. These words are: *Hagg*, *abu:/’umm* , and *’axu:/’uxt*.

Hagg

Hagg means literally “right”, “property” and “belongs”. It can modify definite and indefinite terms.

The attributed term is definite:

Where the attributed term is definite, the annex of ***Hagg*** is also definite.

Consider the following examples:

<i>'ana: 'abgha: ha:da: l-fra:sh</i> <i>Hagg 'ummi:</i>	“I want this [piece of] furniture of my mother”
<i>ligi:tu: il-mifta:H</i> <i>Hagg</i> <i>is-sayya:rah?</i>	“Did you find the key of the car?”
<i>ma:ni: 'aHibb il-laban</i> <i>Hagg</i> <i>is-su:g</i>	“I do not like the butter milk of the market (i.e. which is sold in the market) ”

The attributed term is indefinite:

Occasionally, ***Hagg*** phrases can modify indefinite terms to add some description. In this case, the annexes of ***Hagg*** are indefinite too. Consider the following examples:

<i>ha:da: jaras</i> <i>Hagg furn</i>	“this is a bell for an oven”
<i>'abgha: xubz</i> <i>Hagg mwassam</i>	“I want bread which has been baked in a <i>muwassam</i> (i.e. an oven made of clay)”
<i>ha:da: tu:b</i> <i>Hagg sahra</i>	“this is an evening dress”

Hagg has some variants to show agreement with the number and the gender of the attributed term. *Hagg* occurs after animate and inanimate masculine singular nouns and mass nouns. Consider the following examples:

<i>il-rajja:l Hagg il-mazra'ah</i>	"the man of the farm"
<i>ga'ad fi l-be:t Hagg 'abu:h</i>	"he stayed in his father's house"
<i>ghayyaro: iz-zall¹ Hagg il-majlas</i>	"they changed the rugs in the sitting-room"
<i>min fe:n tishtiru:n iT-TiHi:n Haggukum?</i>	"from where do you buy your flour?"

Haggat occurs with animate and inanimate feminine singular and plural (sound or broken) nouns. Consider the following examples:

<i>marah Haggat be:t</i>	"a [good] woman for home (i.e. for family)"
<i>'alla:h ma xass da l-ghutrah Haggatk</i>	"oh my God, how ugly this <i>ghutrah</i> (a type of head cover men wear) is"
<i>'aTe:ni: il-mala:ʕig Haggat ir-ruzz</i>	"give me the rice spoons"
<i>ghayyaro: iz-zawa:la: Haggat il-majlas</i>	"they changed the rug in the sitting room"

¹ the noun *zall* "rug" is a mass noun. This noun has also a feminine singular form which is *zu:liyyah* and a dual form which are *zu:liyyate:n* and a broken plural form which is *zawa:la:*.

<i>ligi:na: miṭil il-baTa:niyya:t</i>	“we found [blankets] similar to
<i>Haggatkum</i>	your blankets”

Hagga:t/Hugga:t occurs with animate and inanimate sound feminine plural and inanimate broken plural nouns. Consider the following examples:

<i>fe:n il-mumarriDa:t Hugga:t il-gism</i>	“where are the nurses of the
	section”

<i>xade:na: miṭil il-lamba:t Hugga:t</i>	“we bought [lamps] similar
<i>‘ahlish</i>	to your family’s lamps”

<i>tra:ni: ligi:t il-kutub Hagga:tik</i>	“hey, I found your books
<i>mnattarah</i>	in a mess”

<i>lige:tu: l-ghra:D Hagga:tkum?</i>	“have you found your things?”
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Haggi:n/ Huggi:n occurs with animate sound (masculine and feminine) and broken plural nouns. Consider the following examples:

<i>kull il-muwaDDafi:n Haggi:n</i>	“all the bank employees
<i>il-bank ‘axadaw ‘ala:wah</i>	had a bonus”

<i>il-ghlaT min ‘ind il-muwazzi‘i:n</i>	“the mistake was caused by the
<i>haggi:n il-jara:yid</i>	distributors of the newspapers”

<i>gid xalaSaw iT-Talba:t Huggi:n</i>	“have the students of the first
<i>sanah ‘ula:</i>	grade finished?”

<i>haḍu:la: il-mdarrisa:t Haggi:n</i>	“those are the teachers of the first
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‘asma: il-laʕi:bah Haggi:n il-fari:g “the names of the team players”

fe:n il-ʕimma:l Haggi:n il-maHall? “where are the employers of the place?”

abu: and *‘umm*

abu: means literally “the father of” or, “a father”, *‘umm* means “the mother of, or “a mother”. An annexation phrase with *‘abu:* usually modifies a masculine noun, whereas a phrase with *‘umm* usually modifies a feminine noun. They carry the sense of possession or description. Consider the following examples:

ha:da: birtika:n ‘abu: dammah “these are oranges with red spots”

e:sh ka:n ze:nah Sa:bu:n ‘abu: ʕajalah “oh, how nice the Abu-’ajalah (with wheel) soap was”

ʕilk ‘abu: muSS “a half Riyal gum (i.e. gum for half a Riyal)”

yibgha: daftar ‘abu: sitti:n “he wants a notebook with sixty pages”

‘umm

shanTatk di:k ‘umm kafara:t “your suitcase, that [one] is with wheels (i.e. that suitcase of yours is with wheels)”

ha:di:k il-bint ‘umm Habbat xa:l “that girl has a black spot”

hi: sayya:ratik 'umm tandah? “is that your car with a sun roof?”

'a:lha: te:k binti: 'umm la-Hmar “that is my daughter there in red”

'umm can take a plural ending to agree with an inanimate plural attributed term, as in:

jib li: mana:di:l 'umma:t “bring me a half Riyal tissues (i.e. for half a Riyal)”
nuSS riya:l

ʕindi: gdu:r 'umma:t ʕara:wa: “I have pots with handles”

id-dawa:li:b di:k 'umma:t saHHa:b “those wardrobes with zippers”

'axu: and *'uxt*

'axu: and *'uxt* mean literally “brother” and “sister” respectively. They have the meaning of “similar” and “like”. *'axu:* heads a phrase that attributes a masculine noun, and *'uxt* heads a phrase that attributes a feminine noun. Consider the following examples:

yibgha: galam 'axu: ha:da: bi “he wants a pen very similar to this”
D-DabT

ʕinduhum dafa:yah 'uxt “they have a fireplace similar to ours”
dafa:yatna:

Da: ʕat di:k is-suwa:rah 'uxt “that little parcel which is similar to yours has gone”
Haggatsh

9.4.5. The attribute as a prepositional phrase

Prepositional phrases can function as attributes and usually modify indefinite nouns. Consider the following examples:

<i>ydawru:n ʔala: shari:k ʔindah siyu:lah</i>	“they are after a partner with funds”
<i>gaddamt ʔala: maʔhad fi r-riya:D</i>	“I applied to an institute in Riyad”
<i>ma: sha: ʔalla:h ja: ra:kib fi: kadlak</i>	“God bless him, he came riding a Cadillac”
<i>ha:da: niʔnaʔ min il-mazraʔah</i>	“this is mint from the garden”
<i>baHuTT lik il-mifta:H taHt shajaratin ʔind il-ba:b</i>	“I will put the key for you under a tree next to the door”

In some cases, prepositional and circumstantial phrases can modify definite terms, as in:

<i>ma: hi: tishrab ish-sha:hi: bi s-sukkar</i>	“she does not drink tea with sugar”
<i>ʔaHsan il-xubz fi l-furn</i>	“it is better, the bread of the oven”
<i>shifi:h da:k fu:g iT-Ta:wlah</i>	“see it, that which is on the table”
<i>kunna: sa:kni:n fi: be:t fi: shamasa:n</i>	“we were living in a house in Shamasan”

9.4.6. The attribute as a relative clause

Relative clauses can function as attributes. Definite relative clauses are usually headed by the subordinating functionals *'illi:* or *da:*, (cf. 5.2.). Indefinite relative clauses are not headed by *'illi:* or *da:*. For this reason, Watson (1993: 236) describes the relative pronouns *'illi:*, *alladi:* etc. in Sanʿa:ni: Arabic as clausal definite articles. Usually, relative clauses have anaphoric pronouns which refer back to the head (attributed) term. Consider the following examples:

9.4.6.1. Definite relative clause:

The attributed term as a noun:

<i>in-na:s 'illi: za:ru:h ygulu:n innah</i>	“the people who visited him say
<i>ʔa:di:</i>	that he is normal”

<i>shift im-walad da: ka:n maʔak</i>	“I saw the boy who was with you
<i>ʔams</i>	yesterday”

The attributed term as a pronoun:

<i>ʔana: 'illi: ʔaHta:jah ma:</i>	“I am [the one] who need it, I did
<i>shtare:tah</i>	not buy it, i.e. although I need it, I
	did not buy it”

<i>ʔint 'illi: kunt maʔah sanate:n</i>	“you who were with him
<i>ma: gadart ti ʔrifah</i>	two years, were not
	able to get to know him”

The attributed term as a demonstrative:

<i>shefi:ha: te:h 'illi: ga:latt li:</i>	“it is this [one] who told
<i>ʔa:xudah</i>	me to take it”

<i>'aʕrifnum dula:k 'illi: ka:naw maʕak</i>	“I know those [people] who were with you”
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Relative clauses headed by *'illi:* or *da:* usually function attributively to definite terms as seen above, however, in some cases, they may modify indefinite nouns particularly where the attributed term is *wa:Hid* or *waHdas*. Consider the following examples:

<i>ʕindi: waHdah 'illi: xalle:ti:ha:</i>	“I have one which you left
<i>ʕindi: min di:k il-marrah</i>	with me that time”
<i>'ayy wa:Hid 'illi: yiji: ba:xudah</i>	“any one which comes I will take”

9.4.6.2. Indefinite relative clause

Verbal clause:

<i>ygulu:n innhum sha:faw rajja:l ylaflif Ho:l il-be:t</i>	“they say that they have seen a man wandering around the house”
<i>ʕindi: wa:Hid yibgha:ni: 'atwassaT lah</i>	“I have some one who wants me to help him”
<i>shu:f, ida: ka:n rajja:lin yuSdugk f tra:h maʕak</i>	“lit. hey look, if he is a man who is being honest with you so he is with you (i.e. if he is honest with you, he is on your side)”
<i>ligi:t ma:Su:rah tsarrib il-ma:</i>	“I found a pipe leaking water”
<i>be:tin tʕammirah wa la: be:tin tiHdimah</i>	“a house you re-build [is better] than a house you destroy”

<i>walla:h innah yibgha:lik maratin</i> <i>tgu:m bik</i>	“by God, you need a woman to take care of you”
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Nominal clause:

<i>fi:h na:s il-ma^ʔru:f ma: yinfa^ʔ</i> <i>ma^ʔhum</i>	“there are some people who are not worth doing favours for”
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<i>ji:na: fi: Tayya:rah karasi:ha:</i> <i>tala:t Sfu:f hi: tra:yista:r?</i>	“we came on a aeroplane with seats in three rows, is it a Tristar?”
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<i>‘a^ʔTo:ni: da^ʔwah mwajjahah</i> <i>l ‘abu:yah ma: hi: mwajjahah</i> <i>liyyah</i>	“they gave me an invitation addressed to my father not to me”
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<i>‘a^ʔras b waHdah ^ʔumraha: fo:g</i> <i>il-xamsi:n</i>	“he got married to a woman over 50”
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<i>ja:batt bint e:de:ha:</i> <i>mashawwahah</i>	“she gave birth to a girl with deformed hands”
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<i>mSa:dgin shaba:b ‘ahluhum</i> <i>mitbari:n minhum</i>	“he is going with youngests whose families have abandoned them”
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<i>tibgha: wa:Hid ra:tbah ze:n</i>	“she wants [to get married to] a man with a high salary”
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9.5. One attributed term with several attributes

In some cases, an attributed term may take more than one attribute. The attribute can be of one or more categories. Consider the following examples:

Attributes as adjectives:

gid shiftah ma: hu: da:k iT-Tuwi:l “I have seen him, is he not
l-asmar? that tall dark-skinned [man]?”

ya: she:x ma: ‘abgha: waHdah “oh, mate, I do not want a strict
mutzammitah mutaxallifah old-fashioned [woman]”

ana: ‘adawwir ‘ala: gma:sh “I am after a plain red
‘aHmar sa:dah cloth”

ja: fi: sayya:ratah il-kadlak “He came in his white
il-be:Da: Cadillac”

ha:di: masha:kil ‘a:diyyah “these are ordinary problems
mawju:dah fi: kull il-byu:t found in all homes”

ka:natt ‘ind wa:hid ghani: “she was with (married to)
la:kinnah bixi:l a rich man but he was stingy”

bano: luhum be:tin jidi:d bass “they have built for them a
innah bi:‘i:d new house but it is far”

ramaw il-baDa:ya‘ il-gidi:mah w “they ruined the old
il-muntahyah Sala:Hiyatha: and expired goods”

‘indana: bana:t mumta:za:t w “we have excellent and
mu’addaba:t polite girls”

We should note that there are some cases where the attributes modify different aspects of the attributed term, as in:

'abgha: gma:sh 'aHmar sa:dah

In the above example, the two attributes indicate two different aspects of the attributed term which are *aHmar* “red” and *sa:dah* “plain”, whereas in the following example,

'abgha: gma:sh 'ahmar gha:mig “I want a dark red cloth”

The second attribute *gha:mig* “dark” modifies the preceding adjective *aHmar* “red” which in turn modifies the attributed term *gma:sh* “cloth”.

Attributes as adjective and verbal relative clause:

<i>fī:h bint sha:Trah ma: tismaʕ</i>	“is there any good daughter who does
<i>kala:m 'ummaha:ʔ</i>	not listen to what her mother says?”

<i>ʕinduhum mazraʕah kibi:rah</i>	“they have a big farm which is
<i>tsidduhum</i>	enough for them”

<i>huwwah yibgha: shughl mumta:z</i>	“he wants excellent work [investment]
<i>yidaxxil flu:s</i>	which makes [lots of] money”

The attributes as a demonstrative and a relative clause:

<i>shifah il-walad hada: 'illi: DaHk</i>	“see, that is the boy who
<i>ʕalayyah</i>	made a fool of me”

<i>innah shughlik da:k 'illi:</i>	“it is what you have done
<i>xallahum ma: yo:tagu:n</i>	that made them not
<i>fī:k ta:ni: marrah</i>	trust you again”

<i>walla:h innah id-duxxa:n de:h</i>	“by God, it is this smoking
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<i>'illi: dammar SaHHati:</i>	that ruined my health”
<i>hum e:sh tabgha: b il-ku:rah</i> <i>te:h illi xallatik tDayya?</i> <i>id-dira:sah</i>	“what do you want with this football that made you lose your studies”
<i>a:lah waladik de:h 'illi:</i> <i>kassarha:</i>	“it is this son of yours who broke it”

9.6. Word order

The attributed term usually occurs before the attribute. Consider the following examples where the attributes are highlighted:

<i>ha:di: maratin jayyidah</i>	“this is a good women”
<i>ya: rajja:l 'utrukah ha:da:</i> <i>rajja:lin masha:kilh kati:rah</i>	“leave him man, this is someone with many problems”
<i>'ast'ajarna: be:tin ghurafah kba:r</i>	“we rented a house with large rooms”
<i>xadaw maHallin ra:fi:h msa:fir</i>	“they took a shop whose owner is away”
<i>hum e:sh 'abgha: brajja:lin 'wa:lah</i> <i>firgah</i>	“what do I want with a man his children are many (i.e. with many children)”

In very few contexts, the attribute may occur before the attributed term to indicate emphasis. Consider the following examples where the attributes are highlighted:

kaṭīr na:s kallamo:ha:

“many people talked to her”

ma: jatni: illa: waHdah bint

“nobody came to me but one girl”

9.7. Apposition

According to classical grammar, apposition does not come under the category of attribution since the attribute may reflect one or more aspects of the attributed term whereas the appositive refers to the same object in the real world. The appositive can function in place of the apposed term whereas in attribution, the attribute does not give the whole meaning when the attributed term is omitted (Hasan 1976: III 664, Ibnu-Yaʿī:sh (n.d.): III 63-64, Watson 1993: 238, Cowell 1964: 506). Consider the following examples:

ha:ḍa: l- 'usta:ḍ ma:jid

“this is Mr. Majid”

The appositive *ma:jid* can fill the same position of *il- 'usta:ḍ* if omitted.

ha:ḍa: waladi: ish-sha:Tir

“this is my good son”

By contrast, the attribute *ish-sha:Tir* modifies one aspect of the attributed term and cannot fill the same position of the attributed term *waladi:*.

The literal meaning of *al-badal* is “alternative” or “something instead”. Thus, semantically, the appositive can fill the same, or some of the meaning of the apposed term. Generally, the purpose of apposition is to express the apposed term in different words. Sometimes the apposed term occurs to introduce the appositive. Semantically, there are many divisions of apposition in classical Arabic, for details see ʿI:d (1991:

626-628), Hasan (1976: III 665-672). Appositives can be substantives, verbs, prepositional phrases, or verbal clauses. Consider the following examples:

Appositives as substantives:

'agaddim lik id-duktu:r Ta:rig "I introduce you to Dr. Tarig"

xaTab fi: bint 'ammah fo:ziyah "he is engaged to his cousin
Foziyah"

Appositives as verbs:

Sometimes speakers repeat the same verb or use a verb with the same meaning as the first verb for emphasis, as in:

yalla:h 'imsh 'uxruj bara: "go, go out"

la:zim t'allim lah tfahhimah "you should tell him, to explain to
him"

gid 'aflaH ra:H l ahlah "he has gone, gone to his family"

'ug'udi: 'ijlisi: le: l-maghrib "stay, stay till sunset"

Appositives as prepositional phrases:

shuftah bara: fil-Hu:sh "I saw him outside in the yard"

ka:n wa:gif bara: 'ar-raSi:f "he was standing outside on the
pavement"

Appositives as clauses:

ha:di: l-ma:Su:rah maksu:rah "This pipe is broken - leaking
tsarrib ma: water"

<i>'ana: muwaDDafah 'ashtighil mdarrisah fi l-wa:diyye:n</i>	"I am an employee, [I am] working as a teacher in al-Wadiyyin"
<i>ana: mashghu:l bukraḥ ʿindi: mra:jaʿah fi l-baladiyyah</i>	"I am busy tomorrow - I have to go to the municipality"

9.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed the purpose of attribution in classical Arabic and the definition of attribution as defined by Arab grammarians. Attribution is used in Abha Arabic: to clarify (cf. 9.1.1.), to specify (cf. 9.1.2.), and to describe (cf. 9.1.3.). The attributed term can be definite or indefinite and the attribute usually agrees with the attributed term (cf. 9.2.). The attributed term can be a noun (cf. 9.3.1.) or a pronoun (cf. 9.3.2.). The attribute can be a noun (cf. 9.4.1.), demonstrative (cf. 9.4.2.), numeral (cf. 9.4.3.), annexation phrase (cf. 9.4.4.), prepositional phrase (cf. 9.4.5.), or a relative clause (cf. 9.4.6.). The attributed term can take more than one attribute either adjectives, adjective and verbal clause, relative clause and verbal clause, or demonstrative and relative clause (cf. 9.5.). These attributes can modify one or different aspects of the attributed term. The attribute usually follows the attributed term, but there are a few cases where the attribute precedes the attributed term for emphasis (cf. 9.6.). Apposition is discussed at the end of this chapter. Apposition differs from attribution in that while the attribute implies one or more aspects of the attributed term the appositive refers to the same object in the real world and can replace the apposed term in some context if the apposed term is omitted. The appositive can be as a substantive, verb, prepositional phrase, or clause (cf. 9.7.).

Chapter Ten

Conclusion

The Arabic dialect of Abha is a modern form which has partially resulted from the merging of different sub-dialects which are or have been spoken in the surrounding areas. Abha Arabic has been through changes and modifications due to communication between speakers of different original dialects, the spread of education and the mass media (cf. 1.5.). In the light of examining the syntax of the Arabic dialect of Abha, we realise that this dialect has collected many different features from the original sub-dialects which do not occur collectively in any single sub-dialect. Abha Arabic has a wide range of particles and functionals some of which are originally derived from other sub-dialects and others which are the result of innovation. *ha:l* and *'a:y*, for example, are originally from different areas (cf. 4.2.), however, they now have the variants *'a:l* and *'a:* which are used commonly among people in Abha. The conjoin *fghe:r* "then" is used more often by old people than by young people who tend to use *fa/f* (cf. 4.5.1.3.). There are some syntactic particles and functionals which compete with others which are newly borrowed from classical Arabic. The subordinator *Hazzatma*: "in the moment of .." which is found in Abha Arabic is not commonly used by young people and has been replaced mainly by *sa:ʔatma:* and *wagtma:* which seems to be derived from classical Arabic (cf. 4.5.2.1.). *ʔala:ma:* "as" is limited in use as well and competes with the subordinators *miṭilma:* and *zayyma:* (cf. 4.5.2.3.b.). *minswa: inn* "although", *ghe:r inn* "but", and *illann* "but" tend to be limited to the speech of old people and today compete with *maʔa'inn* and *la:kin* (cf. 4.5.2.4.a., 4.5.2.4.b., 4.5.2.4.c.). Other examples are *lann* "because" which competes with *li'ann* (cf.

4.5.2.5.c.), *lama:*, *la:/le:* “whenever, if” which compete with *ida:* (cf. 4.5.2.6.e.), *tamm* “O.k.” which competes with *Tayyib* (cf. 4.7.3.) and others. On the other hand, some particles maintain their syntactic function despite their dissimilarities with their classical counterparts. These include the use of *lis* and *gid* with the personal pronouns (cf. 4.8.4., 4.1.3.). The question particles *le:sh* and *le:h* “why” are used more often in Abha than *limah* which is similar to the classical *lima:da:* (cf. 5.3.6.). There are three sets of demonstratives. Some of them resemble to the classical demonstratives such as *ha:da:*, *hada:k*, *da:k*, *da:*, *di:*, *di:k*, and *hna:k* and others do not such as *diyya:k*, *hado:liyyak*, *hado:la: do:li:k*, *tiyya:k*, *ti:k*, *to:liyyak*, etc. (Hasan 1975: I 321-332, cf. 5.1.2.). These demonstratives are used in general by people in Abha.

at-tanwi:n which is one of the main distinctive features of many nouns and adjectives in Saudi dialects is attested on the verbal derivatives in Abha Arabic even when they occur as the annexed term in an annexation phrase (cf. 7.2.1.). Moreover, *at-tanwi:n* is not used in Abha Arabic to indicate indefiniteness only, but to also show more emphasis. In addition, *at-tanwi:n* is used with nouns which do not normally take it in classical Arabic (cf. 2.3.1.). As in many modern Arabic dialects, in Abha there are two particles *fi:h* and *ba:/bah* “there is/are” which may precede an indefinite predicand to allow a predication structure to start with an indefinite noun (cf. 6.1.1.1., 6.1.2.3.). Bound pronouns may also occur as the predicand if preceded by the particle *ha:l* or one of its variants mentioned above (cf. 6.1.1.2.b., 6.1.3.1.). In this study, I consider the prepositional or circumstantial phrase to be a predicand if it occurs first in the predication structure in contrast to the Arab grammarians’ analysis (cf. 6.1.1.2.d.). Question words are considered to be predicates in this study in line with Arab grammarians’ analysis (cf. 5.3.). In Abha Arabic, the termination *n* is not usually

omitted from the plural and dual annexed noun unlike in classical Arabic (cf. 7.2.1.). Furthermore, personal pronouns can occur as the attributed term in Abha Arabic (cf. 9.3.2.) as in other dialects of Arabic but in contrast to classical Arabic.

Since Abha is the provincial capital of the south-western region of Saudi Arabia and since its people originate from different areas in south-west, Abha Arabic represents the modern south-western dialect in Saudi Arabia. People in the surrounding areas consider it to be the most prestigious of the south-western dialects. However, Omar in her introduction (1975: V) does not mention Abha Arabic as one of the main dialects of Saudi Arabia. I believe it is undesirable to describe Abha Arabic as a variety of any other dialect including the dialects of Hijaz or Najd which are geographically the closest regions to Abha.

Suggested future research

The south-west of Saudi Arabia is composed of three geographical regions: the mountains where Abha is located, the sea coast, and the hills in between where many tribes live. This geographical variety makes dialects different. I believe that people in the mountain and hill areas, in contrast to people in the desert, maintain their dialects because of the stable life they had in their farms in addition to lack of communication until lately with other communities due to transportation difficulties. On the sea coast, communication prevails due to fishing and marketing.

Abha Arabic is now undergoing a massive change. Thus a sociological study of the dialect might be necessary in the next few years. This kind of study could examine the effect of the geographical origins of the speakers on Abha Arabic now. A sociolinguistic study may also investigate the degree to which the spoken form differs

between people of different ages. It could examine also how easily people of different ages in the same family of a particular tribe can switch from their mother dialect to the dialect which is used outside their family and examine their abilities to communicate with people of different ages and from different original dialect areas. Educational effects could also be investigated since education usually serves to modify the speakers' dialect forms toward the classical form. People in the area have different educational levels ranging from educated and semi-educated to completely uneducated. This kind of research could be conducted on the levels of phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexis.

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Appendix 1

Using *lis* and *gid* questionnaire

1. Using the negator *lis*

Do you use the negator *lis* with bound pronouns in sentences like:

<i>lisni: baru:H</i>	"I will not go"	(1.s.)
<i>lisna: binru:H</i>	"we will not go"	(1. p.)
<i>lisik btru:H</i>	"youwill not go"	(2.m.s.)
<i>lisish bitru:Hi:n</i>	"you will not go"	(2.f.s.)
<i>liskum bitruHu:n</i>	"you will not go"	(2.m./f. p.)
<i>lisah biru:H</i>	"he will not go"	(3.m.s.)
<i>lisha: bitru:H</i>	"she will not go"	(3.f.s.)
<i>lissum biruHu:n</i>	"they will not go"	(3.m./f. p.)

Or do you use *lis* with free pronouns as in:

<i>lis ana baru:H</i>	"I will not go"	(1.s.)
<i>lis Hin binru:H</i>	"we will not go"	(1. p.)
<i>lis ant btru:H</i>	"youwill not go"	(2.m.s.)
<i>lis anti: bitru:Hi:n</i>	"you will not go"	(2.f.s.)
<i>lis antu: bitruHu:n</i>	"you will not go"	(2.m./f. p.)
<i>lis hu: biru:H</i>	"he will not go"	(3.m.s.)
<i>lis hi: bitru:H</i>	"she will not go"	(3.f.s.)
<i>lis hum biruHu:n</i>	"they will not go"	(3.m./f. p.)

2. Using *gid*

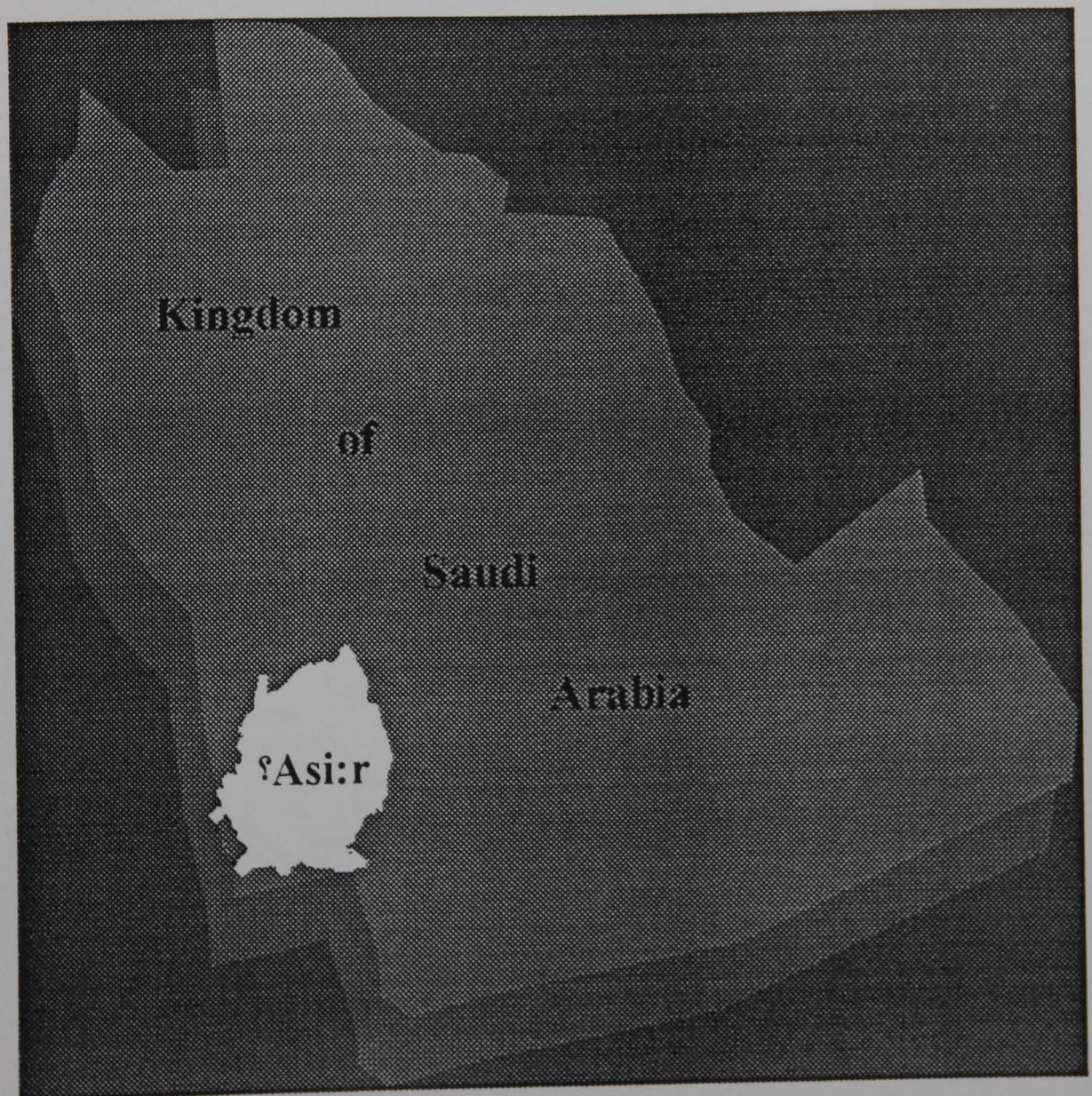
Do you use *gid* with bound prouns as in:

<i>gidni: baru:H</i>	"I am going to go"	(1.s.)
<i>gidni: ʔinduhum</i>	"I am already with them"	

<i>gidna: binru:H</i> <i>gidna: ʕinduhum</i>	“we are going to go” “we are already with them”	(1.p.)
<i>gidik bitru:H</i> <i>gidik ʕinduhum</i>	“you are going to go” “you are already with them”	(2.m.s.)
<i>gidish bitru:Hi:n</i> <i>gidish ʕinduhum</i>	“you are going to go” “you are already with them”	(2.f.s.)
<i>gidkum bitru:Hu:n</i> <i>gidkum ʕinduhum</i>	“you are going to go” “you are already with them”	(2.m./f. p.)
<i>gidah biru:H</i> <i>gidah ʕinduhum</i>	“he is going to go” “he is already with them”	(3.m.s.)
<i>gidha: bitru:H</i> <i>gidha: ʕinduhum</i>	“she is going to go” “she is already with them”	(3.f.s.)
<i>gidhum biru:Hu:n</i> <i>gidhum ʕinduhum</i>	“they are going to go” “they are already with them”	(3.f./m.p.)
<u>Or do you use <i>gid</i> with free pronouns as in:</u>		
<i>gid ana: baru:H</i> <i>gid ana: ʕinduhum</i>	“I am going to go” “I am already with them”	(1.s.)
<i>gid Hin binru:H</i> <i>gid Hin ʕinduhum</i>	“we are going to go” “we are already with them”	(1.p.)
<i>gid ant bitru:H</i> <i>gid ant ʕinduhum</i>	“you are going to go” “you are already with them”	(2.m.s.)
<i>gid anti: bitru:Hi:n</i> <i>gid anti: ʕinduhum</i>	“you are going to go” “you are already with them”	(2.f.s.)
<i>gid antu: bitru:Hu:n</i> <i>gid antu: ʕinduhum</i>	“you are going to go” “you are already with them”	(2.m./f. p.)
<i>gid hu: biru:H</i> <i>gid hu: ʕinduhum</i>	“he is going to go” “he is already with them”	(3.m.s.)
<i>gid hi: bitru:H</i> <i>gid hi: ʕinduhum</i>	“she is going to go” “she is already with them”	(3.f.s.)
<i>gid hum biru:Hu:n</i> <i>gid hum ʕinduhum</i>	“they are going to go” “they are already with them”	(3.f./m.p.)

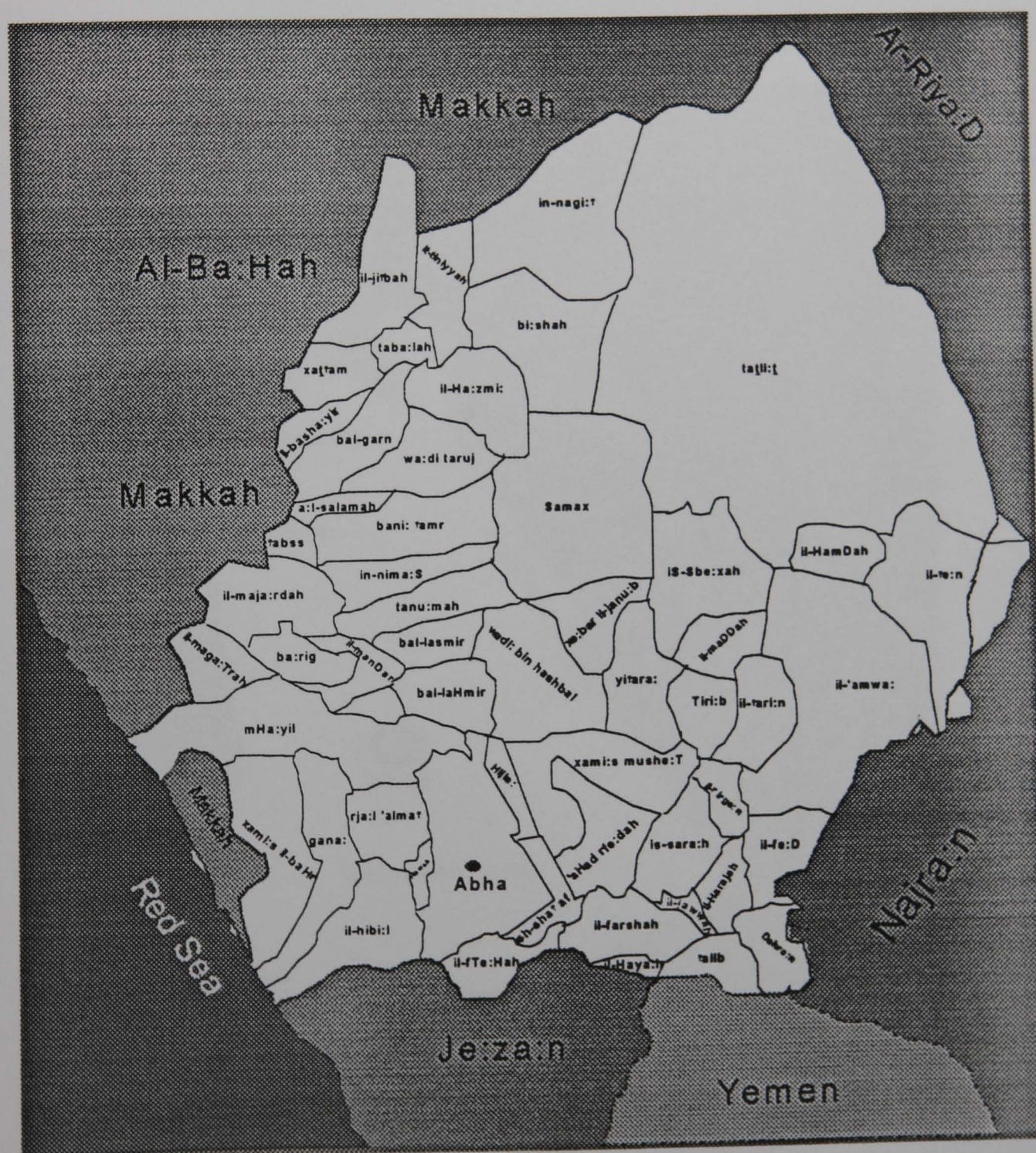
Appendix 2

ʕAsi:r in the Kingdom of Saudi
Arabia



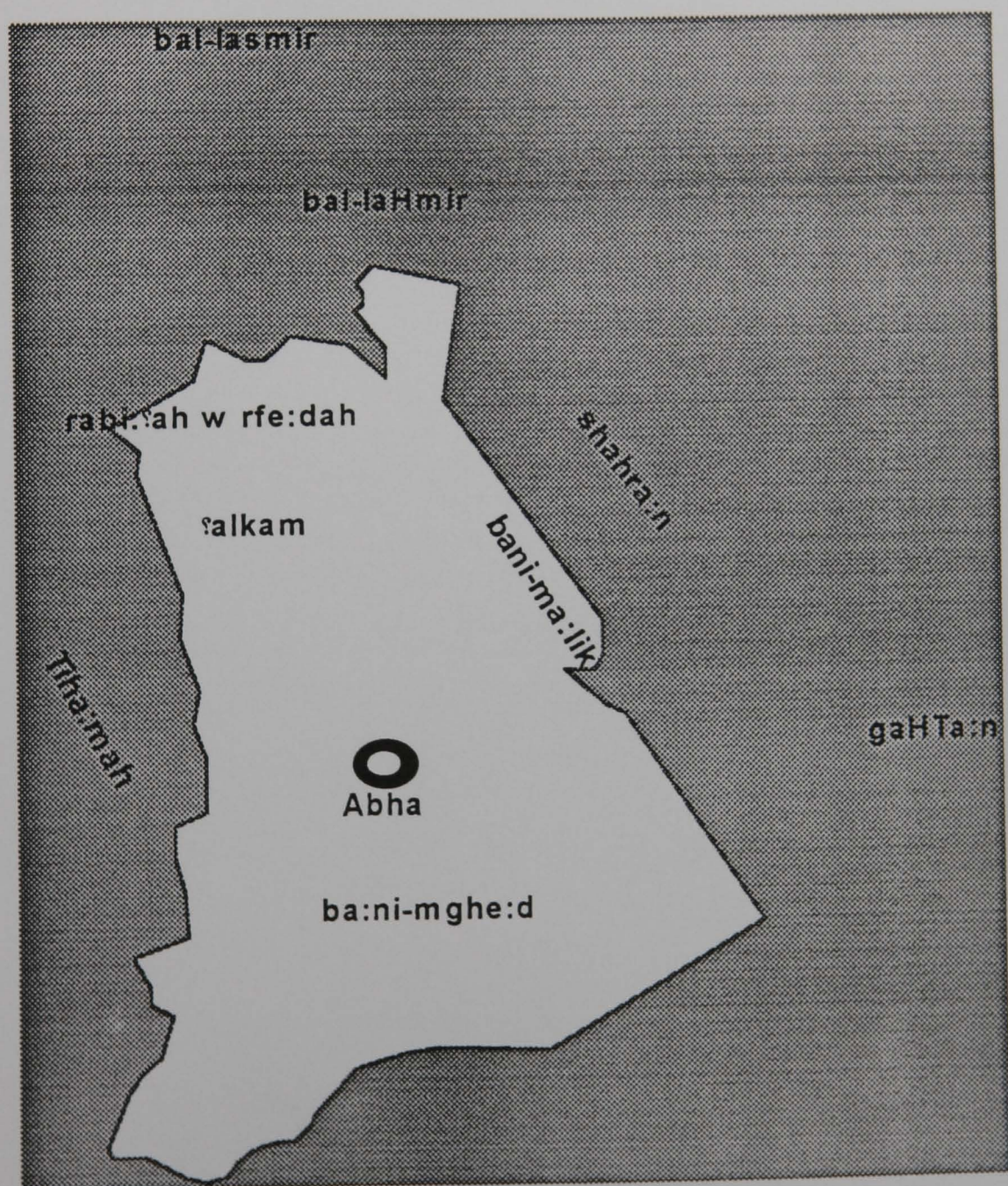
Map 1

Abha in the 'Asi:r region



Map 2

Tribes around Abha



Map 3